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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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# Daily Report
## East Europe

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## Yugoslav Envoy Speaks at UN Security Council

*LD2104011793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0015 GMT 21 Apr 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, April 20 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Tuesday urged that a solution be found for the ethnic, religious and civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina through talks between the warring sides.

Yugoslav Ambassador Dragomir Djokic said, speaking at an open session of the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council which began on Monday afternoon and continued and closed on Tuesday, that the Security Council was keeping Yugoslavia as a hostage of Bosnian Serbs, Moslems and Croats, although it was not taking part in that war and was the most interested in an end to the conflicts.

The Yugoslav ambassador described the sanctions against Yugoslavia as an inhuman and completely unjustified form of collective punishment, a form which humanitarian law did not know and did not recognize. This is an attempt to commit genocide against the entire Serb nation for the third time in their history, he said.

Djokic recalled all that Yugoslavia had done to contribute to the peace process. Peace cannot be achieved by enforcing solutions which cannot be negotiated, but with a resumption of these talks between the warring sides, which Yugoslavia advocates as much as it can, he said.

Djokic also said that the Security Council should not continue wrongly to assume that Belgrade can have such an influence on Bosnian Serbs to make them accept those parts of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina which they consider as contrary to their vital interests.

## UN Warned of 'Unbalanced' Approach to Balkans

*AU2104101693 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Report by Luis Torres de la Llosa]

[Text] United Nations, April 21 (AFP)—Russian Ambassador to the United Nations, Yuliy Vorontsov warned the Security Council against the dangers of taking an unbalanced and politicised approach to the Balkan conflict.

Following an open meeting of the council on the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vorontsov told the press that the international community was focusing too much on the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica.

"I'm very much concerned about the fighting between Croats and Moslems...hundreds of peopple have been killed already...let's try to do something there, but people keep talking about Srebrenica, Srebrenica and Srebrenica...as if it is the only topic we have," the Russian diplomat said.

"It's a little bit unbalanced what we are doing now and too much politicized," he said of the Security Council meeting that had just adjourned.

The 15-member council Monday and Tuesday heard the opinion of some 50 representatives of U.N. members states on the Bosnian civil conflict.

The majority, including many Moslem nations, demanded above all a military intervention in the embattled Yugoslavian republic, or at least lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnia's Moslem forces.

An draft resolution along such lines was drawn up Tuesday by the non-aligned members of the council—Cape Verde, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan and Venezuela.

The resolution calls on the international community to lend the Bosnian Moslems all the assistance they need, including military equipment, to defend their territory against Serb aggression.

The proposal could lead to a military intervention in Bosnia similar to the Allied Gulf War against Iraq in 1991. It was met with caution by Britain, France and the United States, who are concerned for the safety of their military personnel in the former Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution, which if approved would not go into effect until next Monday, also holds the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—liable for all war reparations, including any damage to the environment.

Vorontsov said a military approach was unbecoming of the United Nations and could elicit a more aggressive response from the Serbs.

"The Yugoslavs like that kind of challenge. They are proud fighters and to talk to them the language of fighting...they will fight anybody," he added.

The Russian diplomat said Yugoslavia will adopt an even tougher stance after April 26, when new international sanctions passed by the concil on Saturday kick in. Russia and China abstained in the vote.

Yugoslav Ambassador Dragomir Djokic said the sanctions would turn his country into "a concentration camp" and directly hurt "the most vulnerable segments of the population: the children, the sick and the elderly."

He said the "isolation...and the quarantine" imposed on the Yugoslavian people could not lead to peace and would only contribute to "destibilizing the entire Balkan region."

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will firmly defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity if forced to do so," Djokic warned.

## Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits Macedonia

*AU1904121193 Tirana ATA in English 1029 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Tirana, April 19 (ata)—A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Albania, led by the Director of the Department of Inter Albanian Relations and the Diaspora Esat Myftari is in the Republic of Macedonia. The delegation had a working meeting with the deputy minister of foreign relations of this republic, Nikola Todorcevski, and other high cadres of this ministry.

In this meeting they discussed problems that have to do with the constituent position of the Albanians in Macedonia, the human and national rights they should enjoy as equal citizens of the new Macedonian state. The Albanian delegation of foreign affairs met in Skopje with representatives of the Albanian parliamentary group in the Assembly of Macedonia, with leaders of various Albanian political parties, of communes, Albanian intellectuals of various fields, rank and file people. It had such meetings in the city of Tetova to continue then in the communes of Gostivar and Dibra.

Attending these meetings was also the representative of the Republic of Albania in the Republic of Macedonia, Leonidha Mertiri.

## Government To Encourage Investment With Hungary

*AU2004160493 Tirana ATA in English 1035 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Tirana, April 19 (ATA)—After the ratification of this year's February agreement for the elimination of double taxes on the incomes and capital, the Albanian Government and the Hungarian one have agreed on an agreement to instigate, develop, and mutually protect the investments.

This draft law is made according to the agreement signed last November between these two countries for the elimination of double taxes. Through new articles in it, the aim is to make some amendments which will favour the extension of economic and trade cooperation. The parties have agreed they will instigate and create favourable conditions for the investors of the other party. In this aspect, Albania is the most interested in foreign investments, because it inherited a centralized economy full of inner and foreign debts and an extremely backward infrastructure. According to the agreement, the contracting parties will guarantee the transfer of payments that have to do with investments and income. The 10 year agreement is compiled taking into consideration the suggestions by the UN organization on economic cooperation and development.

## Privatization Process in Various Districts Cited

*AU2004155993 Tirana ATA in English 1031 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Tirana, April 20 (ATA)—Over 1,200 objects have been so far privatized in the district of Lushnje, 120 other objects are expected to be privatized. Over 38 million leks have been sent to the budget from the sold objects.

Now the second stage of privatization of the enterprises has started in this district. Full documentation has been prepared for 12 enterprises. Among them there are trade enterprises, public service enterprises, those of the building materials for the sector of construction. In the meantime, preparations are going on for the privatization of the plant of plasmas, the factory of paper, etc.

The process of privatization is also going on in Diber district. One hundred percent of the means of transportation of goods and passengers, 90 percent of the units of public service, and 85 percent of the trade units have been privatized in this district. The necessary documentation is now ready in the branch of privatization for some other enterprises.

In order to give an impetus to production in the private sector, the branch of Regional Business Agency was set up in this district. It will exploit the credits of the European Community for investments in various fields.

### Berov Assesses Results of Moscow Visit

*AU2004174093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] A Bulgarian governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov paid a two-day official visit to Russia. In Moscow Mr. Berov held talks with his Russian counterpart, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The fact that the positions of Bulgaria and Russia with regard to the Balkan situation is a total coincidence was noted. Mr. Lyuben Berov assessed his talk with his Russian counterpart, Viktor Chernomyrdin, as beneficial. The trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, alternative transportation projects, mutual payments, and the Soviet memorials in Bulgaria and their fate were only some of the topics discussed during the talk between the two prime ministers, which lasted for more than two hours.

In the airplane en route to Sofia, Mr. Berov said to our reporter:

[Begin Berov recording] First of all, we discussed issues related to our mutual trade exchange and other economic issues. As far as the trade exchange is concerned, we discussed first of all the manner of payments between the two states. No specific solution was reached. We also discussed the mutual debts of the two states. We have certain small debts to Russia, while they have significant debts to Bulgaria, both in convertible rubles and clearing dollars, and also in what I call real dollars in order to distinguish between them and the clearing dollars. In this area our positions became closer, but since their side was not completely prepared on this matter because certain figures related to their debts on the clearing account between Bulgaria and Russia have not yet been worked out, we were not able to reach a specific agreement. [end recording]

### Berov, Matinchev Depart for Ozal Funeral

*AU2004174693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] On 20 April Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev departed for Ankara, where they will take part in the funeral of Turgut Ozal, president of the Turkish Republic.

Tomorrow at approximately 1000 [0700 GMT] in Ankara they will be joined by Kadir Kadir, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, and will take part in the ceremony.

In the afternoon Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel will meet with the leaders of the foreign delegations that arrived for Ozal's funeral. According to unofficial sources, Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis will be among them.

### Zhelev Meetings in Washington Reported

*AU2004190393 Sofia BTA in English 1825 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Washington, April 20 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, who paying an informal visit to the United States, visited the Carnegie Fund this morning. A little before noon he had a meeting with the speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas Foley, in the Capitol.

Dr. Zhelev will meet Lee Hamilton, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and Democratic Party Congressman for Indiana, goes a BTA's exclusive by Mikhail Glushkov of the Voice of America.

As it was three years ago, President Zhelyu Zhelev read a lecture at the Council of International Relations, the Bulgarian National Television special correspondent reported. The lecture focussed on Bulgaria's development, Bulgarian-U.S. relations and the situation in the Balkans. President Zhelev pointed at the low level of us investment in Bulgaria calling for the elimination of double taxation and for lifting the anachronistic restrictions on trade imposed by COCOM and some other organizations. There is no documentary evidence implicating Bulgaria's involvement in the Papal kill bid, President Zhelev said in reply to a question about the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II. According to President Zhelev, the United Nations and NATO should act more decisively for resolving the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Committee Approves Foreign Ministry Budget

*AU2004194093 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 20 Apr 93*

["Today"—BTA lead"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—[passage omitted] The MP's of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee approve in principle the funds allocated in the national budget to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Bulgarian Diplomatic Service, Mr. Atanas Paparizov MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told BTA after today's session of the committee. This stand of the Foreign Policy Committee is not final, according to Mr. Paparizov, because many of the committee's members were absent today. The stand of the Parliamentary Economic Committee on the 1993 budget bill was also made known today. The Economic Committee proposes that the Council of Ministers withdraws the privatization programme included in the Budget Bill.

At a press conference today BSP leader Zhan Videnov said that the 1993 Budget Bill presented by the cabinet of Lyuben Berov should be supported. He described this Budget Bill as a professional attempt at a Bulgarian option for overcoming the forthcoming extreme difficulties. BSP floor leader Nora Ananieva said that her group would seek to unblock the work of parliament in the next few days.

The United Agrarians, led by Mrs. Anastasiya Mozer, set forth their views on the first 100 days of the cabinet of Prof. Lyuben Berov at a press conference today. Their general conclusion is that the government acted chaotically and did not meet the obligations it undertook. The Agrarians' spokesman said that the funds allocated in the national budget to the agricultural sector are once again totally insufficient, despite the sector's declared priority. Not only the government but parliament in its present composition too is unable to work, the spokesman said, pointing to parliament's slow and inefficient legislative work. The United Bulgarian Agrarian Party sees early elections as the only way out of the present political and economic crisis.

The Bulgarian Business Block (BBB) does not recognize the incumbent government, BBB leader George Ganchev said at a press conference today. According to him, a budget deficit exceeding 4-5 percent of the gross domestic product is "outrageous." Mr. Ganchev also criticized Bulgaria's foreign policy and President Zhelyu Zhelev's course in this field.

Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov, deputy chairman of the Green Party, said at a press conference here today that his party solidarizes with yesterday's protest action of refugees and heirs of refugees from Aegean Thrace and Aegean Macedonia who demanded compensations for their lands from the Bulgarian Government. According to the organizers of the rally, its participants numbered between 300,000 and 500,000 and came from all parts of Bulgaria. After World War II Bulgaria paid reparations to Greece with the land of the Bulgarian refugees. The token protest rally was held yesterday near the international Sofia-Thessaloniki highway. The participants warned that they may resort to civil disobedience to defend their rights. [passage omitted]

The fourth parliamentary group in the Bulgarian National Assembly set up a Steering Committee to prepare the documents for the registration of an organization under the name of New Union for Democracy. This will be a kind of civic movement—with few party members and more sympathizers. The initiative of the fourth parliamentary group is supported by the New Policy Centre and the Alternative Social Liberal Party. But only an election campaign could unite these organizations.

Today in downtown Varna (on the Black Sea) passers-by could read leaflets posted to commemorate the 104th anniversary of the birth of Adolf Hitler. The leaflets run a quotation from his speech on May 4, 1941: "The fact that the injustice committed on Bulgaria has been repaired moves me greatly because with the help of German arms the Bulgarian borders were revised and thus we fulfilled a sacred duty to our comrade in arms in the World War." This quotation is followed by the text: "We remember what the Fuehrer and his heroic army did for the unification of us, Bulgarians, into a united and indivisible Bulgaria." The leaflet is signed by "Shturm" Patriotic Movement and is illustrated by a copy of an article in an old newspaper, headlined "Hitler and Bulgaria." The police is investigating the case.

Phenol and hydrogen sulfide poisoned the air in the City of Silistra during the Easter holidays, according to the measurements taken by the laboratory of the Regional Environmental Protection Inspectorate in this Danubian city. It takes a day to report the results of the measurements taken. On Friday the concentration of hydrogen sulfide exceeded the admissible levels in Bulgaria about two-fold. On Saturday and Sunday the concentration of phenol was between 1.5- and 2-fold higher than the admissible levels. Silistra is polluted by the metallurgical works in the Romanian city of Calarasi on the opposite side of the Danube.

## Macedonia's Gligorov 'Optimistic' on Relations

*AU1704190193 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 17 Apr 93*

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—I am very optimistic about the relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia and there is every reason for us having good friendly relations, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said in an interview for the TV Panorama weekly political review tonight. This was the first interview which the Macedonian president gave to a Bulgarian journalist after Macedonia's admission to the United Nations. We must shake off some traces of the past and turn our eyes to the present and future, President Gligorov said.

This week the Bulgarian press levelled bitter criticism at the official Bulgarian institutions for not having reacted to the statement which the Macedonian president made at the United Nations, he said that the Macedonian nation had given the Slavs their script and Christianity and, listing the ethnic groups in Macedonia, he did not mention the Bulgarians there.

I do not see any reason for the Bulgarian public getting excited at my pointing out some historical facts in the Macedonian people's struggle for their own statehood and freedom, Mr. Gligorov said in reply to the question if some statements of his could hinder the development of Bulgarian-Macedonian relations. When reminded that there had been no Macedonian state at the time, Mr. Gligorov said that the Slav script had come from that region.

Asked if his not mentioning the Bulgarian minority had been accidental, Mr. Gligorov said it had not. In his view, there are few Bulgarians in Macedonia.

However, the Bulgarian journalist and Mr. Gligorov conversed without using the services of an interpreter.

## Reaction to Gligorov UN Speech

*AU1904092393 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Apr 93 p 8*

[Commentary by Krasimir Tsankov: "Why Did the Macedonian President Slap Us"]

[Text] No one need be puzzled by the fact that in a speech at the United Nations Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov appropriated Bulgarian history in the old Tito-like way, ignoring the Bulgarian minority, and he himself presented his glorious brothers with Christianity, something that was actually done long before by Bulgarian King Boris. Apparently, no one indeed was puzzled, because so far there has been no official reaction on the part of Bulgaria. This simply means that there is nothing new in relations between Sofia and Skopje.

Bulgarian politicians competed over who would be the first to recognize Macedonia. They were prompted by the desire to pick up the internal political dividends by plucking the tender strings of the Bulgarian soul. Their predecessors did the same thing in World War I and II, and the results are well known.

In New York Gligorov sang the old tune. A representative of the old political nomenklatura, he is being attacked by the nationalists for accepting the conditions of powerful Greece, so why not slap the not so powerful Bulgaria?

In the meantime, Bulgarian politicians who have lost power, or who are in power, continue to compete in recalling that they were first to recognize the former Yugoslav Republic.

It is a good policy to have equal and good relations with Skopje. However, Bulgaria has more than one border. The Macedonian president openly implied that he does not like Sofia's paternal tone, but that Bulgaria's political position in the delicate game with Athens and Belgrade is rather convenient.

In the meantime Bulgarian-Greek relations pass through warm and icy stages, while no one hears anything about relations with Serbia.

We are likely to be served a very hot soup in the future.

## BSP Proposes Withdrawal From Cambodia

*AU2004183993 Sofia BTA in English 1629 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA)—Tomorrow the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is going to move for the withdrawal of the Bulgarian soldiers serving with the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cambodia, Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the BSP Parliamentary Group, told a press conference today. In her opinion, the sending of a Bulgarian contingent was prompted by the desire to atone for some non-existing Bulgarian guilt, when determining the functions of the unit on the spot, the preliminary agreements were not observed, she said.

On April 15, 1992 the National Assembly adopted a decision for Bulgaria's participation in the UN peacekeeping operations. An infantry battalion of volunteers was formed sending 850 soldiers and 75 policemen to Cambodia to join the UNTAC forces. With the latest death of a Bulgarian blue helmet in Cambodia, the victims now total nine, four of them were killed by the Khmer Rouge, the others died in accidents.

In the last few weeks the press has been persistently raising the question of the Bulgarian contingent's withdrawal from Cambodia. The decision of parliament which, as the newspapers say, led to the unnecessary death of Bulgarians, has been openly criticized. Citizens' committees have been set up which insist on withdrawing the Bulgarian blue helmets and warn they will organize protest actions.

Before leaving for Washington yesterday, President Zhelyu Zhelev said in connection of the tragical death of a Bulgarian soldier in Cambodia that, unfortunately, the Bulgarian people should get accustomed to such things as there were blue helmets dying all over the world. In his opinion, by sending a contingent to Cambodia, "Bulgaria has made its contribution to safeguarding peace in the world."

Commenting on the same occasion yesterday, Minister of Defense Valentin Aleksandrov said that the recent death of a Bulgarian in Cambodia was a tragic event but there would be more killed. "The decision is a political one and if the politicians decide on the withdrawal of the Bulgarian soldiers, we will immediately do it," he said.

Today the Union of Officers and NCOS of the Reserve sent an address to the president, the National Assembly chairman and the prime minister insisting to consider the necessity of Bulgarian soldiers serving with the UN peacekeeping force in Cambodia.

## Klaus Comments on 'Super-Zero' Variant

*LD1904214393 Prague CTK in English 2124 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Prague April 29 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today that what is left to be divided of former federal property approximately corresponds to the sum which the Czech Republic annually gave to Slovakia in the framework of the redistribution of the federal budget.

Speaking at a Civic Democratic Party (ODS) meeting in Pardubice, East Bohemia, Klaus said that the overwhelming majority of federal property had been already divided. As an example of a problematic joint possession, Klaus mentioned one billion dollars' worth of Czechoslovak claims in Libya. He questioned both the possibility of extorting the claims and discussion over whether the money will go to the Czech Republic or to Slovakia.

Klaus said he considered the idea of a super-zero method of solving property division disputes which he conceived two weeks ago to be a logical conclusion of the considerations that someone owes someone, for example, for the (Czechoslovak) flag.

He said the idea of the variant is that all disputes over property are closed and the matter will never be discussed again.

In his speech, Klaus also said that in his view Poland's macroeconomic policy has failed, pointing out the difference in the inflation rate in Poland and the Czech Republic.

He said that compared with Poland, Czech economic reforms have been implemented more consistently, cautiously and with more attention. He pointed to the fact that the privatisation of large state enterprises in Poland is falling behind considerably.

Klaus voiced the view that these difficulties in implementing economic reform in Poland are rooted in the disunited state of the political system.

## CSS Rejects 'Super-Zero'

*LD2004170493 Prague CTK in English 1316 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Prague April 20 (CTK)—The super-zero variant as a solution for the Czech-Slovak property dispute was rejected by the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) at a CSS's press conference in Prague today.

It is impossible to sign any agreement that the Czech Republic is giving up 24.7 billion crowns (about 823 million USD) owed to it by Slovakia, CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak said.

the CSS, which is a member of the opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU), suggests that the Czech-Slovak negotiations on property-settlement be frozen and resumed later. As to the Slovak shareholders, who acquired the shares of Czech enterprises during the first wave of coupon privatisation, the CSS proposes that their shares be administered by the Czech Republic's National Property Fund.

Speaking on the security situation in the Czech Republic, CSS representatives recommended to strengthen the Czech police and provide them with high-quality equipment. The CSS also recommends to train regularly the former soldiers, who earlier served on the state borders, in order that the Czech Republic is ready to protect its eastern border against the refugee influx.

The customs administration must be reinforced and the visa-regime must be reintroduced for citizens of the states, from which "economic refugees" can be expected, the CSS representatives said.

## Plan Submitted to Parliament

*LD2004222793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 20 Apr*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The eighth session of the Chamber of Deputies started in Prague today. It discussed the report on the state of the educational system submitted by Minister Petr Pitha in response to a request by the opposition. Our Prague correspondent Daniela Galatikova took atvantage of the whole cabinet being present at the session of the Chamber of Deputies and asked Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik for an interview. The topic was the division of the property of the former federation.

[Begin recording] [Galatikova] New variants for the solution of the property and legal issues between Slovakia and the Czech Republic are being discussed these days. At the last meeting in Bratislava, which you attended, it was stated that the property commission would meet again on 20 and 21 April. Have these talks stopped or are they continuing?

[Kocarnik] I think they have not stopped; they are continuing. Another thing, however, is that there has been a change of date. The meeting of the property commission will not be on 21 April, on Wednesday—that is tomorrow—because Slovak Minister of Finance Toth left with President Kovac for the United States. [passage omitted]

[Galatikova] We hear that the talks have been interrupted because of the proposals for a zero or super-zero property settlement. We, therefore, can state that the talks are continuing and further agreements are being prepared.

[Kocarnik] I would like to say that no zero variant was submitted to the session of the property commission. I specifically asked the Slovak side about that several times and I was told: No, the point of departure remains the outcome of the talks between the prime ministers on

27 January. As far as I am concerned, therefore, no such variants have officially been submitted.

[Galatikova] The day before yesterday Mr. Meciar said that 23 April was no longer feasible. What do you think about the latest dates?

[Kocarnik] We said that 23 April would be one of the earliest dates the talks could take place, that is, if the property commission could meet on 21 April. If that meeting does not take place, then I, too, think that the date 23 April is problematic.

[Galatikova] The stand of most of the representatives of the Czech Government on the talks with Slovakia is quite pessimistic. What is your view?

[Kocarnik] Unless there is a clear rejection of the talks by the Slovak side, I want to continue believing that there is space for talks and that they make sense.

[Galatikova] Will the Czech side discuss, for instance, the Tesin region [territory claimed by Slovakia] or the flag?

[Kocarnik] It will not. [end recording]

### Havel Previews Visit to Germany, Issues

*LD1704174893 Berlin N-TV in German 1314 GMT 17 Apr 93*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by N-TV Editor in Chief Peter Staisch, in Prague; date not given; Havel speaks in Czech with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Staisch] Thank you for fitting us into your tight schedule, Mr. President. [passage omitted] What does nationalism in central Europe specifically mean for Slovakia and for the Czech Republic? How far will you drift apart or what chance is there of preserving a whole series of links alongside the formal separation, almost verging on a confederation?

[Havel] There are certain differences in the situation of the two republics. Slovakia has a different economic structure, a different sort of societal mood, and other social modes of behavior prevail there. A political force different to that in the Czech Republic was victorious there. There are thus certain differences, but nevertheless the two republics are fully aware that they must have the best possible relations with each other. They are condemned to this since so many links exist—economic, human, and others. It is in their fundamental interest to maintain good relations and that is also the political will of the two republics, while naturally taking into account differences and different developments, for example in the economy and so on. It will require consistent and very patient work to preserve and further develop these joint relations.

[Staisch] I think that you will be traveling to Germany between 25 and 27 April. You will be making an official state visit to Bonn. Relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic, or whatever the name or the shape of the state happened to be, have never been naturally easy. They have been complex in many respects. Are you going to Bonn with heavy political baggage or from a position in which many things have improved since your flying visits to east Berlin and Munich?

[Havel] I think there is a great historical opportunity before us to establish good-neighbor relations based on partnership between the Czech Republic and Germany. I have worked toward this in the past and would like to continue this in future, even if we have differing constitutional conditions. There are certain things I have in my baggage, but I wouldn't say they are so heavy that I am unable to carry them.

[Staisch] Could you give us some idea of what's inside?

[Havel] I think it would be inappropriate if Chancellor Kohl learned from television what I will be arriving with.

[Staisch] OK, we can perhaps speculate a little. You said in an interview with the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that you want to disregard the issue of Sudeten Germans and no longer wish to exaggerate its significance as a problem, that you are well aware of German reality as well as the fact that in your country the issue is sometimes used to score political points. Perhaps it nevertheless remains one point, and asylum is certainly another. My personal question is, do you have any ideas about urging the Germans to move to a faster and better timetable in terms of linking the Czech Republic to the EC more closely or even of making it a full member in the near future?

[Havel] Until now Germany has been one of the countries most strongly supporting us in our rapid rapprochement toward the EC and also with regard to NATO. I can see no problems on this issue. On the contrary, I would like to say that in this regard we have reason to be grateful to Germany.

[Staisch] These declarations of intent by Bonn with regard to NATO and the European Community have so far been of a very noncommittal nature. Would you not like... might it not be the case that you demand a clearer timetable in Bonn, and say: We would like to be in the first echelon to join the EC. We would not like to be running behind Hungary, and things of this kind?

[Havel] The clearer the words we hear the happier we will be. On the other hand, it must be understood that this, of course, depends on various factors, that politicians are very reticent when they are asked to give certain dates. That, above all, depends on our internal developments, on the speed of our economic transformation, and on our capabilities. And this also depends on developments within the European Community, on the speed with which and on the manner in which it wants to open up, or, on the contrary, close in on itself. There are so many unknowns that politicians do not like talking about specific dates. However, we would, however, very much like to hear them.

[Staisch] The question which we mentioned earlier remains, the Sudeten issue and the asylum problem. Is the Sudeten issue over and done with, and are you coming closer together on the asylum issue?

[Havel] We have already said everything we can say on this, and I don't believe it will form part of our talks.

[Staisch] If I may return to the European Community, do you think it is easier and quicker to move toward the EC as the Czech Republic than would have been the case if you were still linked with Slovakia? Is the Czech Republic's orientation to western models not clearer, allowing the timetable to be speeded up?

[Havel] It is possible, but I would not wish to deduce from this that we separated because the Czechs wanted to be there faster than the Slovaks or that the Slovaks were slowing the process down. No, this was of course not the reason.

[Staisch] We have the two Vaclavs, Klaus and Havel. Could it be that Mr. Klaus approached the issue this way, that he thought it would be easier to get into the EC as the Czech Republic?

[Havel] I would only wish to repeat that no one on the Czech side—neither Prime Minister Klaus nor I, nor anyone else—wanted the country to be divided, and certainly not so the Czech Republic could join the EC more quickly. This had far deeper reasons. I do not believe a state would divide itself so that one of the two could join an international organization more rapidly. [passage omitted]

## Justice Minister Michalek Visits Slovakia

*AU2004120893 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 20 Apr 93 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Michalek Visits Slovakia"]

[Text] On Monday [19 April] Justice Minister Nikolaus Michalek paid an official visit to his Slovak counterpart Katarina Tothova in Bratislava. The Slovak side was mainly interested in the mutual recognition and execution of decisions, in direct court contacts concerning legal aid, and in the problem of the independence of judges from the judicial administration. Justice Minister Michael expressed his interest in the conclusion of additional bilateral agreements to the multilateral criminal law treaties of the Council of Europe (in particular regarding extradition and legal aid) and in Slovakia's plans for the reform of criminal law.

## Statistical Office February Economic Data

*AU2004134993 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Apr p 3*

[Czech Statistical Office report: "The Czech Economy in February 1993"]

[Text] The downward trend of economic activity in the main areas of the Czech Republic's economy continued in February 1993, although a certain positive shift is noticeable compared with the growth rate in January.

Index (Footnote 1) (same period in 1992=100)

| Branch | January | February | January-February |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Industry (Footnote 2)** | | | |
| total output | 89.3 | 94.4 | 92.1 |
| organizations with more than 25 employees | 88.2 | 92.4 | 90.3 |
| **Construction** | | | |
| total output | 80.9 | 95.6 | 89.0 |
| organizations with more than 25 employees | 73.4 | 90.9 | 82.3 |
| **Transportation** | | | |
| volume of freight transported by road | 62.8 | 74.8 | 68.6 |
| number of bus passengers | 72.2 | 75.0 | 73.4 |
| loading in rail transport | 96.4 | 95.1 | 95.8 |
| **Agriculture** | | | |
| sales of cattle for slaughter | 87.7 | 106.4 | 96.4 |
| sales of pigs for slaughter | 98.0 | 105.5 | 101.7 |
| poultry sales | 80.9 | 83.1 | 81.8 |
| milk sales | 90.5 | 90.2 | 90.3 |
| egg sales | 119.3 | 114.3 | 116.8 |
| **Domestic Trade** | | | |
| retail sales at current prices | 115.1 | 120.1 | 117.6 |
| retail sales in constant prices | 96.3 | 98.5 | 98.1 Foreign Trade |
| Exports total, without the Slovak Republic | 79.7 | 73.8 | 76.4 |
| Imports total, without the Slovak Republic | 79.5 | 125.8 | 108.0 |

(Footnote 1) Based on comparable prices or units of kind [naturalni jednotky], excluding foreign trade.

(Footnote 2) The data for industrial output in January and in January-February include corrected data for January, which were erroneously reported higher [in the Czech Statistical Office report for January 1993]. This was true, in particular, of the "production and distribution of electricity, gas, and water" section, as a result of incorrectly reported production data by power-generating organizations.

Below-average production growth in industry in the January-February 1993 period was recorded, in particular, in the production of foods and condiments, machinery and equipment, and electrical and optical appliances. The output for the January-February 1992 period was exceeded only in the production of leather and leather-based products, rubber and plastic products, and metals and metal products.

In the construction sector, particularly low dynamism was reported in organizations with 400-1,000 employees, where the decline exceeded 30 percent. Organizations employing fewer than 100 people, on the other hand, registered production growth compared with 1992. In the other categories of enterprises in terms of size, the dynamism of production ranged between 84 and 91 percent.

The development of nominal average monthly wages in selected areas was very dynamic but, with the exception of the transportation sector, real wages do not signal excessive growth (only organizations with 25 or more employees were considered).

**Average Monthly Wages in the January-February 1993 Period—Index-(January-February 1992=100)**

| Branch | Absolute Value in Czech Korunas | nominal | real |
|---|---|---|---|
| Industry | 5,172 | 122.1 | 100.4 |
| Construction | 5,603 | 126.9 | 104.4 |
| Transportation (excluding municipal mass public transport and aviation) | 5,039 | 137.2 | 112.8 |
| Retailing | 4,085 | 121.2 | 99.7 |

Labor productivity measured in terms of output per employee in comparable prices declined in the January-February 1993 period by 2.1 percent in industry and 16.3 percent in the construction sector, compared with the same period in 1992 (only organizations with 25 or more employees were considered).

## Team Confirms Slovakia Owes Czech Republic

*AU2004090593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Apr 92 p 1*

["sim"-signed report: "A Joint Team Has Verified Slovakia's Debt"]

[Text] Prague—A joint Czech-Slovak team of experts has not found any discrepancies in the former Czechoslovak State Bank's closing account. It has thus verified the Czech outstanding claim of 24.7 billion korunas resulting from the central bank's division. This information was confirmed by Czech National Bank (CNB) Press Spokesman Martin Svehla. According to him, the Slovak side has communicated the results of the inquiry to Bratislava where Prime Minister Meciar should be briefed on them.

The "super-zero" option for the property settlement with Slovakia is, according to Martin Svehla, a purely political matter, and the Czech National Bank does not intend to comment on it. "However, the CNB's outstanding claim of 24.7 billion korunas really exists and has to be repaid," explained Svehla. If it is not paid by the National Bank of Slovakia, it will have to be paid—in his view—to the detriment of the Czech state budget.

## KGB Agents May Be Among Volhynian Czechs

*AU1904154793 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Apr 93 p 2*

[CTK and "jem"-signed report: "There May Be People Used By the KGB Among the Volhynian Czechs, Says Security and Information Service Director Stanislav Devaty"]

[Text] Prague—Security and Information Service [BIS] Director Stanislav Devaty has not ruled out the possibility that there may be people used by the KGB among the Volhynian Czechs resettled in the Czech Republic. Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert has also not refuted this possibility.

The intelligence service is also interested in the Ralsko District in connection with the activity of foreign intelligence services in our country, said BIS Director Devaty yesterday. He added that a former eastern bloc secret service is manifestly interested in continuing to keep watch on East Europe. It is concentrating on the economic sphere in particular and is using its agents and—obviously—clandestine State Security staff for this purpose.

Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert told us that migration is generally used by all intelligence services to place their agents in a foreign country. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this has happened in the transfer of Volhynian Czechs to the Czech Republic. He said, however, that a specific investigation is exclusively within the BIS' jurisdiction.

Petr Veltrubsky, leader of the Ceska Lipa District Council, has compared the doubts being cast on the "genuineness" of the Volhynian Czechs—who came from the region afflicted by the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant—to a witch-hunt. Jindrich Solc, deputy mayor of Ralkso, said that the resettlers are appealing for help—via the local authorities—to the president of the Republic, the prime minister and parliament, the Foreign Ministry, and the Interior Ministry.

## Numbers of Troops Who Have Changed Sides

*LD1904175693 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Prague April 19 (CTK)—Since the split of the Czechoslovak Federation at the end of 1992, a total of 778 Slovak professionals serving in the Czech Army have opted to join the Slovak Army, a spokeswoman for the Czech Ministry of Defence told CTK today.

At the time of the split on January 1, 1993, 18 per cent of the professionals serving in the Czech Army, or 6,912 individuals, were Slovaks, said spokeswoman Drahomira Nova.

In contrast, only 217 Czechs serving in the Slovak Army have decided to join the Czech Army. On January 1, 1993, Czechs made up 15 per cent (2,224 individuals) of the total of professionals in the Slovak Army, Nova said.

Most Slovaks who left had been serving in the Czech units under the Western Territorial Command, and the air force and air defence commands. The majority of them were communications specialists and their average age had been about 30 years, Nova noted.

The majority of Czech professionals who have left the Slovak Army had served in Slovak units under the air and air defence commands and the Central Territorial Command. For the most part, they joined Czech communications units and also average about 30 years of age, she said.

There are 363 Slovak professionals and 75 individuals serving an extended term who are currently pursuing studies at Czech military schools. Similar figures for Czechs studying at Slovak military schools are 517 and 62, Nova concluded.

## Meciar Comments on Klaus' 'Super-Zero Variant'

*LD1804211093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 18 Apr 93*

[Excerpts] The Slovak Government and Movement for Democratic Slovakia Deputies met in Casta Papiernicka today and discussed economic problems facing Slovakia and the strategy to be adopted in the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

After the meeting Prime Minister Meciar, at the request of Czech Radio and Czech Television, spoke on the issue of the division of assets between the two former republics of the Federation. Alexandr Picha, our colleague and correspondent in Bratislava, reports:

[Picha] [passage omitted] Prime Minister Meciar said that the so-called zero variant that Slovak President Kovac put forward during his recent visit to Prague had been Vladimir Meciar's project. This is new.

The Slovak prime minister also spoke about the super-zero variant put forward by Vaclav Klaus. If both sides acknowledge mutually their respective claims and if they are not going to reimburse each other at all it would be possible to sign such an agreement, for instance, tomorrow. On the proposal itself Meciar had this to say:

[Begin Meciar recording, in Slovak] I still do not know what is super, although I know what zero is. This means that this new super variant would have to be quantified, according to what Mr. Klaus includes in this sum and this solution. We have intimated what we propose from our side. We want to know what he will propose from his side. At present we are working with an unknown. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The Slovak Government decided at Casta Papiernicka to be restrained, saying that it is for the Czech side to clarify further the question of super-zero.

## Government To Take Stand on Variant

*LD2004200693 Prague CTK in English 1735 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Bratislava, April 20 (CTK)—Slovakia's stand towards a super-zero variant of solving property division disputes will depend on the outcome of talks between Slovak Ambassador to the Czech Republic Ivan Mjartan and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus scheduled for Wednesday, Otto Hanko of Slovak Government office said today.

The director of the press department in the Slovak Government office told journalists that the Slovak Government had not yet received an official document concerning the Czech Republic's stand on the super-zero method of resolving the property settlement between Czechoslovakia's two successor states.

Hanko said that Mjartan's visit to Prague was aimed at clarifying the official meaning of the method which will be later discussed by the Slovak part of the Czech-Slovak Joint Commission on Federal Property Division.

Klaus said on Monday that the idea of the super-zero variant which he conceived two weeks ago is that all disputes over property are closed and the matter will never be discussed again.

## Meciar Views Current Economic Problems

*LD1804192093 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1710 GMT 18 Apr 93*

[Regular weekly television address to nation by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening esteemed fellow citizens: The government of the Slovak Republic has been discussing complex issues affecting the life of our community. [passage omitted] This week we concentrated our attention on three basic ranges of issues which were given priority before all others. The first was cashflow, the second was tax and customs evasion, and the third was corruption in public and state institutions. The tackling of these problems is very complicated but unavoidable if we want our society to develop in a normal and healthy life.

The circulation of money has been very seriously upset by insolvencies; to what extent, we do not know precisely. It is thought that they amount to at least 60 billion korunas, but estimates hint of as much as 80 billion. This process has not halted. On the contrary, it continues. It has become customary not to pay for the deliveries of goods and services, and to do business with other companies' money since this is more advantageous than to get loans from banks and pay interest. On the other side those companies which have been shortchanged in such a way do not possess the means to get satisfaction and enforce their claims, and then they turn to the government and demand new resources from the state.

The slowdown in the circulation of money is not merely a matter of producers and the distribution sector. It is also a matter for banks. Banks, too, bear full responsibility for the existing state of affairs.

It would be possible to print money, grant loans and use extra-budgetary resources to revive the economy. Our assessment is, however, that in this economic environment, in the disorder which is prevailing in economic and financial relations, any financial subsidies would only mean further financial losses. This is why it is necessary to change the environment in which we live to ensure that this abnormal situation comes to an end and ensure that normal principles prevail for mutual benefit in order that we can take advantage of goods exchanges and money circulation. Goods cannot move about differently from the movement of money. The whole process cannot be upset since the collapse of the economic situation poses on the whole a serious threat.

The revitalizing mechanism of bankruptcy should assist in resolving this process. The government asked the parliament to be given until 15 April to prepare new legislation. We met this deadline and we have presented to the National Council a draft law that amends procedure in bankruptcy cases. What was the core of the matter?

First of all, we wanted to avoid two extreme situations. The first extreme situation is like this: If we let the law work without any precautions, the so-called domino effect would occur. [passage omitted] The other limiting factor was the capacity of the courts. There are 241,000 commercial cases pending in the courts, as well as many other civil law cases, e.g. inheritance, etc. [passage omitted]

The second issue which I have pointed out is that of tax evasion. This issue is very complicated in our country. We began to seriously deal with it in the second half of 1990 [as heard]. According to the information given to me by the minister of finance, we found out that during this short period alone tax evasions amounted to 2.3 billion korunas. This is not acceptable. Obviously, the actual situation is even worse.

The government has therefore adopted several measures to change the situation. The situation at customs houses has to change as well. The quality of the control of goods turnover has to improve. The quality of the control of charges payments has to improve. [passage omitted]

The interruptions to tax flows and returns to state budget pose a threat to the operational capability of the state mechanism and the ability to honor payments in the future.

If the state budget deficit is already more than 14 billion korunas, then we have to think why that is the case. We have to search for the cause. Directors of companies that have money and deliberately do not pay, be they angry or not, will have to go. And the management will have to leave as well. Operations and production managers who have neglected their duties, be they angry with us or not, will have to face the freezing of the variable part of their salaries for a certain period, or this part will not be paid to them.

Control, discipline and order must improve. This is the only way out of this situation.

The issue of corruption, which we also discussed, is also a very complicated issue. Corruption is in essence a very dangerous phenomenon because it infiltrates all aspects of life and creates the so-called shadow, black economy. Whatever we decide to call it in any case it is a undesirable social phenomenon. Corruption in essence exists everywhere to a certain extent. It is a phenomenon that is very difficult to root out. Today, however, we have reached the limit when the circulation of black money is posing threat to the basic functions of the state, when it is affecting all structures including those that have to fulfill the function of suppressing it. This is why the state must prevent it. This is a complicated struggle which we are waging in your name. It is a complicated struggle against those who take bribes, those who for bribes distort laws and government's intentions. It is a complicated struggle against those who for normal service demand more money which they have no right to claim, thus in effect doubly penalizing those who do need either a loan or assistance or who want to have access to official funds and the like.

What is interesting is that although a large number of people have drawn attention to this phenomenon, there is little evidence about it. We will, therefore, need the help of our citizens to a larger extent. I told the government that we are about to step on the snake's tail, and you know what it means when one steps on the snake's tail. This is why for us, too, this is a complicated period. Let us therefore keep our fingers' crossed for each other. Help us. We will fulfill our task of strengthening the power, operation, and stability of the state in the interest of the state. Thank you.

## Kovac Unveils Project for Economic Recovery

*AU2004121093 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 16 Apr 93 pp 1, 2*

[Michal Kimlik report: "The President's Project; How To Set Financial Flows and Hence the Economy in Motion"]

[Text] The Slovak economy is facing problems. Michal Kovac, president of the Republic, therefore organized a meeting with economic ministers and economic experts yesterday. The meeting, held under the president's auspices, dealt with the problems of improving the financial situation of enterprises and tackling their insolvency and with a new concept for the Slovak National Property Fund.

"The National Property Fund could be turned into a nongovernmental institution that would bring together all property currently administered by the state," President Michal Kovac said at the close of the meeting. "Views on the value of this property vary. Some speak about 180 billion korunas, others about 400 billion korunas. I see a solution in that, after this transfer, the central bank could already lend money to the fund. [sentence as published] In this way enterprises would gain access to credit. My proposal could thus help solve a burning problem, the insolvency of enterprises. I therefore propose a one-time clearing operation of all liabilities against domestic claims, not against foreign claims, which must be dealt with in a different way, for example through purchase [not further specified]. The plan does not provide for any easing of debtors' obligations toward the state budget, either," Michal Kovac said.

What was the ministers' response to the meeting with the president? "He is an experienced banker," Minister of Agriculture Peter Baco said regarding the president.

"The proposal is worth considering. This meeting follows up on the talks held at Stara Tura. The approach to improving financial flows must be comprehensive, however, so that companies do not waste the money they get on wages. Within the framework of this comprehensiveness, I regard as extremely important the stabilization of the economic environment, improvement of financial discipline, and the coming into effect of the bankruptcy law. Moreover, we have to realize that a market environment has not been established in Slovakia yet," Peter Baco said.

"This discussion will not end today," said Lubomir Dolgos, minister for the administration and privatization of national property, in emphasizing the need for a longer-term search for solutions. "Under this proposal, future proceeds from privatization could get into circulation relatively quickly, which would improve financial flows. The fund should purchase companies' claims at the expense of its own profits."

Minister of Finance Julius Toth again drew attention to the need to improve the financial discipline of enterprises. "If we discover any shortcomings in this regard, in state enterprises we will effect immediate personnel changes," Toth stressed. "Within the framework of improving financial flows, we intend to purchase the claims of those enterprises whose losses were caused by the state. This concerns losses incurred as a result of the war in former Yugoslavia, claims in the republics of the former Soviet Union, or losses incurred due to the war in Iraq. Such claims will be purchased by Konsolidacni Banka [Consolidation Bank] in a total amount of 3.9 billion korunas. And regarding the president's proposal? We are in a situation in which every proposal is appreciated," Julius Toth said in conclusion.

Speaking about ways to improve the state of foreign exchange reserves, at yesterday's meeting the need to increase incentives for our citizens to deposit their foreign exchange with our banks rather than in foreign banks was stressed. The state should guarantee foreign exchange deposits, which should also be "enshrined" in the law on the Slovak National Bank [NBS]. The rate of interest on foreign exchange accounts should also rise by 1.5 to 2 percent. The NBS vice governor was asked to submit to the president proposed measures within 10 days.

## Moravcik Interviewed on Copenhagen Conference

*AU2004130793 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Apr 93 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by Peter Fridner; place and date not given: "Slovak Diplomacy on the European Forum"]

[Text] For many people in the East, as well as in the West, developments in the post-communist countries of Central and East Europe have assumed unexpected features. The conference convened by the Danish Government in Copenhagen on 13 and 14 April was expected to provide the answers to several questions. The Slovak delegation to this meeting was headed by Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik. NARODNA OBRODA reporter Peter Fridner asked him for an interview on this authoritative meeting of countries from both sides of what was once the Iron Curtain.

[Fridner] What was the original purpose of the Copenhagen conference for representatives of the diplomatic corps from the EC, the European Free Trade Association, and East European countries?

[Moravcik] Danish Minister of Development Helle Degn described it poetically: stability, prosperity, and partnership. The thing was how to expand the region of stability and prosperity, and establish real partnership relations with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Many were surprised by the fact that Ukraine and the Russian Federation had not been invited to the conference. However, the hosts should really be praised for succeeding in creating a favorable and constructive atmosphere, which made it possible, finally, to shift the subject of discussion to a more specific level. For us, it was also interesting to watch the role Denmark—whose territory and population is almost identical to Slovakia's—can play in European politics. This country is an encouragement for us.

[Fridner] To what extent was the atmosphere at the conference influenced by the controversy between the EC and Central European countries over cattle, meat, and livestock-product exports? Reports from the conference indicate that there was an atmosphere filled with polemics there. Was foot-and-mouth disease the only reason for this exchange of opinions?

[Moravcik] I can confirm that this was not a conventional exchange of opinions in the sense you mean. It was a rather a one-way process [jednosmerna zalezitost]. The temporary ban on the import of some agricultural products may have been a subject of our discussions, but it did not affect the conference in any substantial way. In my opinion, countries in this part of our continent really are "entitled" to claim to be taken by surprise if, after all the grandiose talk about the liberalization of trade and the necessity to develop economic cooperation, immediately after that they have to face tough quotas.

On the other hand, the post-communist countries—and this may apply mainly to the Slovak Republic—should be more specific, that is, they should formulate their requirements in the form of projects. Everyone wants to know whether his funds—if he provides them as a grant—are used for the benefit of the cause.

[Fridner] What reaction has there been to your proposal on the support for the so-called triangular trade involving the West, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the republics of the former Soviet Union, a proposal that is a modification of the so-called Dienstbier plan made some time ago?

[Moravcik] Yes, this is an idea which follows up an idea developed by former federal diplomacy. This, too, testifies to the fact that geopolitical circumstances may have a positive effect on the stability of foreign policy. The concept of the triangular operation is based on our knowledge of Eastern markets and deliveries to this market financed from the funds designated for assistance to countries of Eastern Europe. We did not discuss this subject separately. This plan should be drafted in a more specific way in order to be implemented. These specific features must be a subject of separate discussions.

[Fridner] Was there a joint policy from the Visegrad group (Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary) at the conference, or did you have the feeling that differences and competitive relations prevailed among them?

[Moravcik] I can also confirm that our common interests are prevailing over our differences—which still exist, naturally. Otherwise, it is likely that waiting for membership in the "prestige-club"—which the EC certainly is for Central and East Europeans—would be quite boring. We can conduct academic discussions about competitiveness, as regards EC membership.

[Fridner] What can you say about your bilateral discussions in Copenhagen?

[Moravcik] There was relatively little time for longer discussions. We discussed with Mrs. Ugglas—who currently presides over the CSCE Council of Ministers—the most topical issues of this process. We also spoke to them—and the Belgian representatives—about our interest in participating in drafting the European standard for national minority rights. An inseparable part of such activities are informal talks, such as a very interesting conversation with Swiss Foreign Minister Coti, as well as representatives of Spain, Italy, and the host country. All were interested in our political situation, the privatization process, and Slovak-Hungarian relations.

During the conference there was a meeting of representatives of the Visegrad group, and shortly before the conference there was a meeting of countries of the Central European Initiative. An interesting topic was raised there—the idea to send a Central European Initiative mission to Moscow, where possibilities for cooperation between this group and the Russian Federation would be discussed.

[Fridner] In your program there was also a lecture in the Foreign Affairs Society about the current situation in Slovakia and its foreign policy orientation. What did you stress?

[Moravcik] My intention was to explain, to the predominantly Danish public, that a stable Central Europe is Slovakia's great interest. We see the path to establishing stability through the systematic integration of all the countries of Central Europe—defined by the Visegrad group—in the European economic and security systems, and also in the intensification of mutual relations among the countries of Central Europe. In this connection, I dealt mainly with Hungarian-Slovak relations. I presented our interest in the inviolability of the borders between the two states, and problems concerning the ethnic minorities.

### No Privatization Funds in Second Coupon Wave

*AU2004123893 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 18 Apr 93*

[Text] Bratislava April 18 (CTK)—Privatisation investment funds are likely not to be allowed to participate in the second wave of coupon privatisation in Slovakia, due to start in late 1993, Slovak Privatisation Minister Lubomir Dolgos said in a regular Slovak Television debate today.

He stressed it was dangerous for economic power to be concentrated in the privatisation funds into which citizens invested heavily in the first wave, held from May 1992 to January 1993.

Dolgos said foreign capital was flowing to Slovakia very slowly. At present it is only 300 million dollars, a ridiculous amount, he said, and added that up to one billion USD were invested in Hungary annually.

Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said he favoured the introduction of import surcharges because this would give an advantage to Slovak producers.

### Weiss Denies SDL Coalition With HZDS

*AU2004123693 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Bratislava April 19 (CTK)—Speaking on the radio today, Slovak Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss rejected accusations by some Slovak political parties that the SDL had formed a silent coalition with the ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Weiss said that he found statements made by Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) representatives that they would wait and see which way the SDL voted in the parliament to be especially strange. If anybody thinks that SDL policy will lead to a situation where power can be found lying in the street waiting for Mr. (Jan—ed.) Carnogursky to pick it up, then they are mistaken, Weiss said.

Weiss recalled that seven months had elapsed before a meeting between SDL and HZDS could take place, a fact mirroring the tense state of relations between the two parties. The SDL is ready for talks with all political parties and movements, Weiss stressed.

The SDL is the second largest Slovak political party. Jan Carnogursky, who held the Slovak premiership from 1990 to 1992, is the KDH chairman. The KDH was a ruling party from 1990 to 1992, when it was toppled by the nationalistically oriented HZDS.

## Hard Currency Assets Total $1.3 Million

*LD1604231093 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 16 Apr 93*

[Text] Bratislava April 16 (CTK)—Slovakia's hard currency assets total almost 1.3 million USD, said Slovak National Bank (NBS) Vice-Governor Marian Tkac in an interview for Slovak Radio today.

Tkac also said that reserves of the NBS and other commerce banks, including gold reserves, which are deposited in the NBS are part of Slovakia's hard currency reserves. The National Bank itself has less hard currency, something more than 230 million USD, he said.

Measures enacted by the NBS have enabled the stabilisation of the development of Slovak hard currency reserves, he stated, adding that Slovak global commerce places primary importance on credit relations and payment for imported goods. The government is preparing an import surcharge and after certain economic renewal, which we are anticipating, these hard currency reserves should be enough for Slovakia, he said.

The NBS balance, which was disclosed today, totalled 125.206 million Slovak crowns as of March 31, and is, according to Tkac, balanced. He said that the bank's balance had increased from 117,875 million crowns as of January 1.

Tkac said that the Slovak National Bank wants to find a way to increase the faith of Slovak citizens in the institution within ten days.

## Heavy Industry Conversion Problems Outlined

*AU1604175893 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 13 Apr 93 p 2*

[Vladimir Duduc report: "The Huge Burden of Conversion"]

[Text] The Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises [ZTS] in Dubnica nad Vahom announced last week that they are suspending production. They have thus swollen the ranks of Slovak enterprises recently forced by lack of funds to limit production to a three or four-day week or to send all their employees on vacation.

At the same time, it is important to note that the enterprises involved are almost exclusively large state enterprises—or rather, former state enterprises—that have just recently undergone transformation. They include, for example, ZTS Turciansky Martin, ZVL [Ball Bearing Plant] Kysucke Nove Mesto, the Trnava Automobile Plants, ZTS Detva, and now the Dubnica plants. The organized stoppage has affected four out of the eight divisions and will last until 19 April when the several thousand employees will return to work.

"Under the current conditions we are incapable of generating sufficient funds to cover the enterprise's credit burden from the past," said Stanislav Hajas, an adviser to the director. There is a whole series of reasons for this—the unresolved consequences of the immediate suspension of special production, the collapse of East European and domestic markets, the recession in the West, across-the-board insolvency, and so on. A lack of funds does not only affect the purchase of basic raw materials or energy for production, it also affects wages.

In many cases, the large enterprises are suspending work not because of a shortage of orders, but because of a shortage of money. The banks are unwilling to grant further credit until previous debts have been cleared up. It is debatable whether it is at all realistic for our banking and financial system purposefully to deal with the manufacturing sector's insolvency in view of the current situation regarding the Slovak National Bank's [NBS] foreign currency reserves, which, according to Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka, amount to only $20-25 million. NBS Deputy Governor Marian Jusko quickly refuted this claim, but even his figure—which is approximately 10 times higher—does not offer much hope for a rapid solution to the crisis.

It is no coincidence that the most pressing problems are occurring in former arms factories. "Special production in the Slovak Republic has been declining, in comparable prices, since 1988 when we recorded its greatest boom; it has declined from 19.3 billion korunas in 1988 to 1.9 billion korunas in 1992, that is, by more than 90 percent," said engineer Vladimir Pavlik, director of the Special Production Department at the Economics Ministry, whose opinion we asked on the increasing production stoppages in the former arms factories. The conversion programs, which have been gathering pace in recent months, cover roughly 15 percent of the shortfall.

The systemic measures adopted by the government, whether by the former federal government or the Slovak Government, to deal with the consequences of conversion have virtually only affected supplies of dubious value and useless fixed assets. The endless costs, the non-productive overhead expenses, uncovered expenses, penalties, damages, and interest on credit have remained unresolved. Writing off the armament plants' debts—until now bound by the binding tasks of the state plan—has only been done by Vseobecna uverova banka [General Credit Bank]. It has still not been done by Investicna banka [Investment Bank].

"The enterprises affected by conversion have financed their restructuring projects from state subsidies alone. In Slovakia these subsidies amounted to 1.2 billion korunas in 1991, to 589 million korunas in 1992, and the Slovak Government has earmarked 500 million korunas for this year," said engineer Vladimir Pavlik. At the same time, the impact of conversion was originally calculated at 7.9 billion korunas. This figure has not changed much after three years. At the moment, more than 7.0 billion korunas are needed to deal with the consequences of the unqualified decision made by federal officials to suspend special production immediately. However, we in Slovakia will—in all probability—have to decide for ourselves where to get the money. The continued pushing aside and subsequent ruination of the large state enterprises, on which hundreds of smaller suppliers depend, would be catastrophic for the Slovak economy.

### NBS Not Satisfied With Foreign Reserves

*AU2004133393 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak*
*17 Apr 93 p 2*

[TA SR report: "Slovakia Does Not Intend To Devalue"]

[Text] Bratislava—Slovakia does not intend to devalue or otherwise alter the Slovak koruna's exchange rate against freely convertible currencies in the immediate future. It is possible, however, that it may review the Slovak koruna's continued exchange rate against the Czech koruna through the European Currency Unit [ECU]; this would be done in accordance with payments development.

Marian Tkac said that, according to National Bank of Slovakia [NBS] information, payments for the conveyance of gas to the Czech Republic in January and February have been made into accounts at the Vseobecna uverova banka [General Credit Bank]. The payments, amounting to approximately one billion korunas, have influenced payment relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics. (This involves payments in the old package—TA SR note). The republics have still not settled the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank's property. The NBS will outline its point of view regarding the Czech side's proposals at the next meeting of the property division commission.

Some of the gold belonging to Slovakia is in the Republic and some is abroad. The NBS is, on the whole, trading successfully with it. The Slovak Republic should obtain the remainder before the end of April. However, it is necessary to reach a final solution regarding the "fate" of the gold being discussed by the property commission. There are 19.5 tonnes of gold in Slovakia and another four tonnes are awaiting transfer from the Czech Republic to Slovakia. The gold abroad was divided at a ratio of 2:1. It amounts to nine tonnes and the bank has been trading with it since 5 January.

According to yesterday's press briefing, the NBS is not satisfied with the state of the foreign currency reserves. The NBS adopted measures aimed at stabilizing them after the currency separation. The government is also expected to take steps to protect the market. An NBS agreement with the European Investment Bank has increased reserves by some $27 billion, and Vladimir Meciar's visit to the European Bank For Reconstruction and Development in London increased them by another 50 million ECU. At the beginning of May, the Slovak Republic could draw on part of the credit promised by the World Bank to the former CSFR. An NBS delegation will attend IMF talks in Washington at the end of April.

## Rise in Inflation Slows Down in March

*AU2004122493 Budapest MTI in English 0915 GMT 15 Apr 93*

[Text] Budapest, 15 Apr (MTI)—Consumer prices rose by 0.8 percent in March over February 1993, following a rise of 1.7 percent in February and 6.8 percent in January, the Central Statistical Office said today.

Twelve-month (March to March) consumer price inflation was 23.4 percent as against 24.7 percent in February and 25.9 percent in January.

The price of foodstuffs rose by 0.1 percent in March after 2.5 percent in February and 4.9 percent in January while the price of other goods increased by an average 1.1 percent.

## Industry Minister Views Fall in Production

*AU2004143993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Apr 93 p 13*

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Janos Latorcai by Pal Emod; place and date not given: "When Will the Drop in Industrial Production Stop?"]

[Text] [Emod] Industrial production fell by almost 10 percent in 1992 with the rate of decrease slowing gradually in the course of the year. What do the current statistics show? Will this drop stop?

[Latorcai] This trend did not change in the first two months of 1993. If we compare it with the beginning of 1992, we can speak of a 3-4 percent fall in industrial production; if we compare it with the last quarter of 1992, we can speak of a 4-5 percent fall in industrial production.

[Emod] Obviously, the food industry is one of the "culprits" in all this, because the agricultural sector failed to produce raw materials. Are there other sectors responsible for the production fall?

[Latorcai] In addition to the food industry, chemical industry production also fell, and this can mainly be explained by the nondelivery of 80,000 tonnes of ethylene expected from Kallus. This ethylene was needed for the production of the Tisza Chemical Works, and was also needed for the production of the Hungarian Viscosa. At the same time, production in metallurgy did not decrease. I would also like to add that the food industry does not belong to our ministry, but is part of industrial production in economic statistics.

[Emod] What do you expect of the remaining part of this year? Do you see any chance of having a zero-growth for the whole of 1993?

[Latorcai] If the aforementioned delivery problems in Kallus stop, there is a chance that industrial production will not continue to decrease in 1993.

[Emod] How will the fate of the so-called dirty 13 [large enterprises] belonging to the industry ministry affect the aforementioned process?

[Latorcai] I think the production of these enterprises will decrease; more exactly, the Peti Nitrogen Works will have to firmly improve the conditions.

## Orban Elected Head of Young Democrats

*AU2004122293 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 18 Apr 93*

[Text] Budapest, 18 Apr (MTI)—The 5th congress of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) elected parliamentary group Leader Viktor Orban the first president of the party. He ran unopposed for the election and received 338 of the 411 ballots cast.

Orban said the FYD would remain a liberal, moderate, nationally committed centre party. Its minimum aim is to gain three times the present 23 seats in parliament during elections in 1994, with electoral victory being the maximum objective.

The congress elected 8 members into the 11-strong presidium, who will be party vice-presidents: Janos Ader, Tamas Deutsch, Gabor Fodor, Peter Molnar, Zsolt Nemeth, Zoltan Rockenbauer, Tamas Tirts and Zoltan Trombitas—all members of the FYD parliamentary group.

The presidium also includes Party President Viktor Orban, the head of the parliamentary arm to be elected on Monday, and the president of the future board. (The most likely candidate for the post of parliamentary group leader is Laszlo Kover, chairman of Parliament's National Security Committee.)

Participants at the congress were greeted by Lennart Rohdin, MP [member of parliament] for the Swedish Folkpartiet, and Laszlo A. Nagy, president of the Hungarian Civic Party of Slovakia.

The 5th congress of the FYD closed with a speech from MP Lajos Kosa in Debrecen, eastern Hungary, on Sunday [18 April] afternoon.

### Orban Views Prospects

*AU2004140693 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Apr 93 p 5*

[Interview with Viktor Orban, candidate for the position of chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Attila Farkas; place and date not given: "There Are Chances To Win the Elections"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Farkas] It is often said that the liberal alternative offered by the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] does not have social sensitivity; on the contrary, it excludes such social sensitivities. You have also been criticized for failing to formulate your ideas in an understandable way....

[Orban] That is not true. The popularity of a party that is unable to translate its concepts into everyday language will soon disappear. FIDESZ can hardly be accused of this.

Besides, in my opinion, there are no socially insensitive parties in Hungary today. Only socially sensitive parties can prevail in a country where the standard of living and overall national performance are diminishing, unemployment reached 700,000 in three years, social care and health care are in trouble, and families find it difficult to spread their income until the beginning of the next month. The parliamentary parties are still on their feet. Therefore, the question is of how the various parties envisage the road leading out of this impasse, rather than who is socially sensitive and who is not. I say that our program is the most socially sensitive.

[Farkas] On what do you base this statement?

[Orban] FIDESZ was the first to state firmly that starting economic growth is the only long-term solution to social problems. FIDESZ firmly believes in starting economic growth.

[Farkas] What chances are there of starting economic growth? How do you evaluate the current situation of the Hungarian economy?

[Orban] It is depressing. I would risk saying that, regarding the prospects, the situation of the Hungarian economy is worse than any time in the past three years. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] Is the inception of economic growth an unrealistic goal?

[Orban] There are chances for economic growth. This requires a firm government with a clear program and, if possible, large-scale public support. In my opinion, the first thing that must be declared is that possible resources should be concentrated on economic growth. I mean, among other things, advantageous credits and the acceleration of ventures. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] Although you tried to avoid speculation on election chances recently, do you maintain your previous conviction that FIDESZ must triple the number of its deputies at the next elections?

[Orban] I continue to regard this as a minimum goal because, taking the political situation into consideration, we also have a chance of winning the elections. It would be half-hearted not to admit this, but it would be appallingly self-conceited to be sure about winning. A moderate suggestion is that FIDESZ has the chance to emerge as the strongest party after the next elections.

[Farkas] Looking at it from the viewpoint of the next parliamentary elections, is the elimination of the age limit not coming too late? Thinking logically, the probability of newcomers playing a "key role" in the elections is pretty low....

[Orban] There is no connection between the elimination of the age limit and the FIDESZ candidates running in the elections, just as this did not affect the list of candidates in the local government elections in 1990. I think everyone can see the large number of people over 35 whom FIDESZ supported at the time and who are now mayors and local government representatives.

[Farkas] What about the next elections?

[Orban] A considerable number of our candidates are over 35. We are striving to avoid the candidacy of very talented young people in individual districts because, although they would be capable of functioning as deputies, the citizens might not vote for them because of their age. The youngest generation of FIDESZ members accepted the principle that we cannot nominate very young candidates again, as we did in 1990. [passage omitted]

### Government Rejects Veterinary Noncooperation Charge

*LD1904201793 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Budapest April 19 (CTK correspondent)—The Hungarian Foreign Trade Relations Ministry today rejected a statement from the Czech Foreign Affairs Ministry blaming Hungary for repudiating an agreement proposed at a Prague meeting last week calling for a closer and more frequent veterinary cooperation.

The meeting was held by the Visegrad group, an informal economic bloc in Central Europe comprising of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Hungarians explained that their laws specify that all international agreements must be properly executed and that the Czech idea was submitted without preliminary consultations and authorisation.

Therefore, the Hungarian side was now studying the proposal and would shortly submit an opinion. The Prague meeting was merely of a consultative nature. It was held in reaction to the recent European Community embargo on East European meat and dairy products, a Hungarian Trade Relations Ministry spokesman said.

### Finnish Army Chief Visits Budapest

*LD1804170493 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 18 Apr 93*

[Text] Budapest, April 17 (MTI)—Admiral Jan Klenberg, commander-in-chief of the Finnish defence forces, on Sunday [18 April] arrived in Budapest on a three-day official visit.

He will confer with Hungarian Army Commander Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz about military security policy issues and the South Slav crisis.

Lorincz will give briefs about the current reorganization of the Hungarian Army.

Discussions will be held on developing cooperation between the two armed forces.

## Gore Visits Warsaw for Ghetto Uprising Anniversary

### Gore Praised by Walesa

*LD2004170093 Warsaw PAP in English 1313 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Warsaw, April 20 - U.S. Vice-President Al Gore, in Warsaw to attend the 50th anniversary commemorations of the Ghetto Rising, on Tuesday [20 April] praised President Lech Walesa for his role in the process of democratisation in Poland, and called for a broadening of Polish-American cooperation in future years.

At a breakfast meeting at the official Belvedere residence with President Walesa, Al Gore said that he praised Poland for the progress made in democratisation and reform. I pay homage to Poland, which under your leadership has taken the lead on the road to freedom, democracy, respect for human rights and the free market, Gore said. He added that while Poland was still in a period of transition, there was no doubt which country leads among post-Communist states—it is Poland, Gore said.

President Walesa recalled the changes which have occurred in Poland, which now has elected representative government at all levels. In the economic sphere, inflation is slowing down, and half of the economy has been privatised. Economic reforms in Poland have passed the critical stage—the worst is now behind us, the president said.

President Walesa praised American support for Poland in the struggle for freedom and democracy. The United States was an example to Poland in the hardest years of our struggles against communism. He thanked the United States for its support in obtaining a reduction of Poland's foreign debt. "We can say that America has been a true friend of Poland," he said.

The two leaders both called for closer economic cooperation between Poland and the U.S. "We want to see hundreds of your firms, large and small, over here," Walesa told Gore.

They also discussed the situation in Eastern Europe, and in particular in the former Soviet Union. Gore noted that President Clinton was himself keen to hear Walesa's views on developments in the region, when he and Walesa meet later this week.

The Polish president travels to Washington on Tuesday, where he is to attend the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

### Gore Meets With Suchocka

*LD1904190793 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka met with U.S. Vice-President Al Gore on Monday [19 April] to discuss questions of economic relations between Poland and the United States.

Al Gore, who arrived in Warsaw to attend ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Jewish Ghetto uprising, is paying his first foreign visit as U.S. vice-president.

Following the talks Premier Suchocka said that they concerned American support for Poland's readmission to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the question of access of Polish products to American market as well as Poland's entry into NATO.

The U.S. vice-president praised Poland for efficiency in implementing reforms, distinguishing her among all the post-communist states.

### Gore Discusses Balkan War

*LD1904173993 Warsaw PAP in English 1601 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—U.S. Vice President Al Gore, now on a visit to Poland, on Monday [19 April] announced the United States would take firmer moves towards the states of former Yugoslavia if the Bosnian conflict continued to spread.

Gore added that the U.S. was holding consultations on the issue with other countries. He did not rule out a U.S. military operation in former Yugoslavia, saying that the U.S. Administration was considering a series of possible moves to deal with the Bosnian conflict.

According to Gore, the embargo on arms supplies to the warring sides failed to produce satisfactory results because there are no means to execute it.

Earlier in the day, Gore met with representatives of the Warsaw Jewish community.

He described the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as one of the most important events in the history of humanity.

## Rabin Gives Speech at Auschwitz Ceremony

*TA2004155093 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1417 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Address by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin at a ceremony commemorating the victims of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland—live]

[Text] Every clump of earth in this damned place is soaked with the blood of the murdered victims. Every barracks that stands silent today in this accursed site heard the screams of tortured people. Every wall here is a wall of tears. The spikes on every rusted fence in this deadly town lacerated the shriveled bodies of our brothers, and the wind here will always carry on its wings the smoke of the crematoriums.

In the face of hunger and solitude, in the face of humiliation, bitter cold, and torture, who could have behaved differently here? They they did not go like lambs to the slaughter. An abandoned people, a forsaken and lonely nation, went to its death here.

Fifty years later, we neither forget nor forgive. The eyes wide open in horror—as we saw in the pictures here—of our brothers leaving the land of the living without knowing why or what for; their deadened glances looking for the salvation that failed to come; their screams and tears and their silent wailing cry to us today, too. All our lives, from then until the end of time, have been palled by the most horrible crime in history. Wherever we go in the State of Israel, the memory of the Holocaust, its burden and lessons, follow us.

Our people did not break down. In the face of the helplessness that occurred here, in light of the terrible despair and the march into the walls of death, the gas chambers and the crematoriums, the people of Israel live on! We rose from the ashes of the victims and we founded a nation and a state of moral quality, of culture and intellect, and of military might.

Fifty years have gone by, and today we have enough power and the spiritual mettle to meet contemporary demands, to repel enemies, to build a home, to give asylum to the persecuted. And, we have the power and the spirit to strike back at any ill-wishers as well as the power and the spirit to stretch out a hand in peace to enemies.

Brothers of ours, whose ashes cry out from this damned earth, we miss you! We miss your Jewish hearts, the love of mothers, the laughter of children. History was not on your side. The founding of the State of Israel came too late for you.

All we can do is fulfill your bequest; the bequest you whispered here, on this ramp, which led you to your death; the bequest that was written with your blood on the walls of these barracks; the bequest that arose from your screams in the gas chambers.

As long as we breathe and live, as long as the people of Israel are alive, such a tragedy will never ever happen again. We will protect every Jew wherever he may be. Our blood will never again be shed in vain. I speak here on behalf of the citizens of the State of Israel, and together with me are the smoldering embers who made it home. I speak here in the name of the sons and daughters who were born after you in your home, the home you never got to see.

In the name of Israel's warriors, I salute the silent stones, your ashes, and you, who were denied the privilege of seeing us fulfill the dream of generations.

Oh earth, cover not my blood, and let my cry find no resting place!

## Meets Polish Leaders

*TA2004132693 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Apr 93 p 1*

[Report from Warsaw by 'Aliza Wallach]

[Excerpts] "Lech Walesa evinced more understanding for our problems with our neighbors than have many others." This was said by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin yesterday when he summed up his meetings with Polish leaders. During these meetings Rabin stressed the Iranian danger.

Rabin arrived in Poland yesterday to participate in ceremonies marking 50 years since the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The visit is also being used, however, to strengthen bilateral relations and cooperation between Israel and Poland. [passage omitted]

Speaking with correspondents accompanying him, Rabin said that three areas of cooperation were raised in the talks. "The Polish foreign minister commented on the dangers stemming from Muslim fundamentalism in the region," Rabin said. He added: "I concentrated my remarks on Iran. I asked him to help us in the issue of the MIA's [missing in action], especially those whom we believe are under the Iranian sphere of influence, especially Ron Arad."

In the area of foreign relations, Rabin made the following remark: "We spoke of strengthening political cooperation to counter various dangers. Generally, relations between us and Poland in the international arena, including the United Nations, have greatly improved." [passage omitted]

## President Meets Press Before Departing for U.S.

*LD2004165693 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1500 20 Apr 93*

[News conference by President Lech Walesa at Warsaw airport before departing for the United States on 20 April—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good morning, Mr. President. Anna Rybaltowska, from Tele-Express.

[Walesa] I have ended up with a pretty girl again.

[Correspondent] Are you afraid that Clinton's policy toward Poland may change?

[Walesa] I have very many arguments for my vision to win because it is more lasting and better. I think that I will convince the President about this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the Americans claim that we are the leaders in the development and transformations in East and Central Europe. Did President Gore [as heard] say how they were going to take advantage of this fact?

[Walesa] So far, we have only been talking in general terms, since it was the first meeting. However, I will attempt to sharpen the concepts, in a way, and the threats we can see here, and I think that this will be reflected in facts. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what are the results of Prime Minister Rabin's visit?

[Walesa] I think that as far as this is concerned, we paid tribute to the memory [of the Warsaw Ghetto], but we also said that although that enormous crime occurred on Polish soil, it was not committed by Polish hands. This is important, as here and there people do not understand the processes which took place in Poland, and they draw various conclusions. This was said by the prime minister, I said that, and we all said that. I think that this has cleared the ground for good cooperation.

## Walesa, PL Official Discuss Coalition

*AU1904141393 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 15 Apr 93*

[Text] Warsaw, 15 April 15—The Peasant Agreement (PL) party has still not taken a final decision on its future membership of the ruling coalition, PL leader Gabriel Janowski told President Lech Walesa on Thursday [15 April], at a meeting at the official presidential Belvedere residence.

Janowski, who resigned last week as agriculture minister in protest at the lack of cabinet support for necessary changes in Polish agriculture, later told journalists that although the government's policy for agricultural reform was good, he had resigned because he could see no possibility for its speedy implementation.

He added that in his discussions with President Walesa, they had agreed that the government was not proving effective enough in dealing with Poland's social, economic and political problems. He added that he had told the president his resignation had been motivated by a desire to demonstrate the need for effective reforms in the country.

The presidential press office later announced that President Walesa and Janowski had agreed on the need for a more effective functioning of the ruling coalition. The president stressed that it was high time for speedy and decisive action to resolve the problems of the Polish economy, and in particular of agriculture, which is particularly badly-affected by the present economic and social situation. A failure to act could lead to growing social tension, the president said.

## Lifting of Ban on Czech Meat Postponed

*LD1904201493 Prague CTK in English 1833 GMT 19 Apr 93*

[Text] Warsaw April 19 (CTK correspondent)—Although Polish Premier Hanna Suchocka promised Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus last Friday [16 April] that Poland would repeal its ban on imports of meat, live animals and dairy products from the Czech Republic, in the light of new British doubts about Czech meat only the ban on meat from Hungary has been lifted.

Polish Government spokesman Jacek Kozlowski told CTK today that the decision to lift the ban on Czech meat and dairy products will not be made until experts can clarify the veterinary situation in the Czech Republic.

Kozlowski also said that while Poland is striving for the best possible relations with the Czech Republic, political interests cannot be placed on a higher level than the veterinary problem.

## Parliament Debates Defense Budget

*AU1804141593 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 8 Apr 93 p 3*

[Mediafax report: "Parliament Debates on the Budget: The Armed Forces Have Been Defeated]

[Text] After the 1700 [1400 GMT] intermission on 7 April, the joint Parliament session continued discussion on Article 10 [of the 1993 draft budget], which refers to state spending on communal services and housing. Talking about the final destination of the budget allocation in this area, [Finance] Minister Florin Georgescu explained that the money is intended to finance the housing the state must furnish for the Armed Forces and Interior Ministry personnel. Georgescu specified that of the 23 billion lei allocated, 15.5 billion is earmarked for studies of and repairs to buildings damaged by earthquakes, and only the remaining 8 billion [all figures as published] is for housing government personnel. The amendment proposed by FSN [National Salvation Front] Deputy Corneliu Ruse, suggesting a 7.8 percent increase in those funds, was rejected. Article 10 was subsequently put to a vote and passed with 192 votes for it, 69 against, and 18 abstentions.

Article 11, referring to the the Armed Forces budget, may be seen as the climax of last night's debates in Parliament.

Valentin Gabrielescu, vice-chairman of the Committee for Public Order and National Security, presented the problems regarding defense, describing the situation as critical and even disastrous. Gabrielescu quoted statistics reflecting the continuous decline of the budget allotted to the Armed Forces over the past few years. According to the report, in 1988-1989 the budget amounted to $1.75 billion, in 1990 it dropped to $1.485 billion, in 1991 to $1.041 billion, in 1992 to $635 million, and the current draft budget for 1993 has merely earmarked $525 million for defense spending.

Petre Roman, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Defense Committee, explained that the decrease of the defense budget was due to the weakening of the state's ability to financially sustain the Armed Forces, as the economy declined more in the 1990-1991 period than the defense budget. Roman added that the general international relaxation after the end of the Cold War also played a role, but described that detente as premature and false. He urged responsibility with respect to the function of national defense within the new international context.

Taking the floor, [Defense] Minister Niculae Spiroiu expressed his opinions on the issue, saying that any state, when at war, allots 85 percent of its budget to defense, and allots 50 percent during times of economic crisis. Spiroiu said that Romania is in a region where the danger of conflict is quite obvious. Spiroiu said that $418 million is necessary to achieve the proposed goals of coordinating defense policy with European structures. The amount currently earmarked in the draft budget would maintain the operational and reaction capacity of the Armed Forces, the defense minister added. He also mentioned that after long discussions with the finance minister, he had to admit that the country really lacks the financial resources to increase the armed forces budget. Considering the amount allotted to defense by the current draft budget, the operational level [nivelul de operat] would drop by 30 percent, Spiroiu said.

The two [parliamentary] defense committees have submitted an amendment to this article, detailing how the ministry could keep all foreign currency earned from the sale of military equipment at home and abroad. The voting of that amendment "ignited" the spirits of the parliamentarians. After the vote count (129 in favor, 115 against, and 16 abstentions) [National Romanian Unity Party] Deputy Ioan Gavra, chairing yesterday's session, declared the amendment "passed." The deputies began to shout. At the same time [Democratic National Salvation Front Senator and Senate Chairman] Oliviu Gherman was trying to explain why he had voted against the amendment, despite the fact that no one had asked him to do so and he did not have to explain anything. Gherman expressed his concern, and warned that if the amendment is passed as such, the sale of weapons might generate corruption.

Having understood the protests of the parliamentarians, Gavra announced that he was at an impasse, as according to the rule, an amendment passes if the number of votes favoring it exceeds that of the votes against it plus the number of abstentions. Realizing that the number of favorable votes had not met that provision, he declared the amendment "rejected." Then a fierce fight for possession of the microphone broke out between deputies sitting on the right half of the hall and those on the left. FSN Deputy Corneliu Gavaliugov requested that the amendment be submitted to nominal vote, and his proposal was supported by the opposition. [FDSN Senator Gheorghe] Dumitrascu suggested that the first ballot should simply be repeated, as—according to him—"merely every other vote has been counted" in the boxes [place occupied by Senate members]. Someone kindly pointed out to him that the person who had counted the votes there was FDSN Senator Gherman himself. PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] Senator Ioan Lup tried to say something from the rostrum, but he was prevented by (Suceava) FDSN Deputy Viorel Munteanu, who bent the microphone down. The action of the FDSN deputy did not remain without consequences, as PL [Liberal Party] Deputy Dan Trepcea and PNTCD Deputy Ion Muresan hurried to the rescue of Lup by "assaulting" Munteanu. The incident lasted for several minutes and ended only after the intervention of their parliamentary group colleagues.

Eventually Parliament decided to submit the amendment to another vote. PRM [Greater Romania Party], PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], and FDSN deputies have joined those of the opposition—thus breaking the old tradition of their group's unity—in voting for the amendment. Certain PSM and FDSN deputies were warned by their colleagues to not vote. The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] voted for the amendment. Finally, with 130 votes in favor, 138 against, and 13 abstentions, the amendment was rejected on the second ballot.

However, Parliament passed the amendment submitted by [Finance] Minister Florin Georgescu, stipulating that the Defense Ministry could collect its earnings resulting from the sale of military equipment in lei, calculated on the basis of daily official exchange rates. Finally, Article 11 passed with 185 votes in favor.

### Melescanu Says Minority Issue Not So 'Serious'

*AU2004124293 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Apr 93 p 1*

[MTI report: "Melescanu on Romanian-Hungarian Relations—It is Only the Press That Shows a Gloomy Picture"]

[Text] According to Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, Romanian-Hungarian relations are better than they seem if one only reads the newspapers. There are no problems serious enough to turn into sources of conflicts or escalations, even though many areas, including major issues like the basic agreement and small concrete issues like the establishment of consulates and cultural centers and the matter of memorial tablets, demand early decisions. In Melescanu's view, now would be a good time to draw up the basic agreement.

In a long interview given to the ERDELYI NAPLO, which is published in Nagyvarad [Oradea], about the two unresolved questions of the basic agreement, Melescanu said: "For us, it is not a good omen that the agreement with Ukraine has been withdrawn from the Hungarian Parliament because of the section on the inviolability of borders."

However, according to the minister, it follows from this that a wording has to be found that is acceptable to both sides and both parliaments.

Talking about the basic agreement, he pointed out that in the Romanian Parliament this agreement "would be difficult to be ratified without reference to the fact that territorial demands do not exist against Romania." However, a (Hungarian) obligation referring to the inviolability of borders that was also approved by Parliament, would have a very favorable effect on Romanian political life in Melescanu's view. Our relations with Hungary represent one of the major domestic political issues, and this kind of tool in the hands of government, or political forces generally, would be a very serious argument and could eliminate some of our domestic debates that do not always show us in a good light, he said.

Melescanu explained that, compared with other countries, the national minority issue was not such a serious issue in Romania, and "this is not only to our credit but also that of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian], even if both the RMDSZ and the Romanian majority have made certain statements."

Talking about the Romanian schedule of bilateral relations, he repeated that Bucharest would welcome a top level meeting before the end of 1993 at the presidential and prime ministerial level.

"Owing to our delicate relations, I agree with the Hungarian side that we should not just have a meeting for the sake of it, which might even prove a failure in the end," Melescanu said.

### Iliescu Visit to Holocaust Memorial Viewed

*AU2004134693 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Apr 93 p 1*

[Ion Cristoiu commentary: "A Hazardous Journey"]

[Text] On 19 April Ion Iliescu is to depart for Washington to attend the opening of the Holocaust Memorial. As our readers can see from the dispatch we publish in this issue and from other reports, Iliescu is not paying an official visit at the invitation of President Bill Clinton, but rather a private one at the invitation of those who organized the extensive events related to the opening of the Holocaust Memorial. At this time of the year, in April, Jewish people throughout the world commemorate the six million Jewish victims of fascism. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the revolt in the Warsaw ghetto and its commemoration seems to be taking on global dimensions. The fact that President Bill Clinton and other heads of state are to attend the opening of the Holocaust Memorial serves to prove just that.

The significance of the Washington event goes beyond a mere commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust. The event is obviously intended to be a response to the recent waves of anti-Semitism noticeable in several countries of the world. Considering that anti-Semitism is one of the typical forms of expression of nationalist extremism, the event in the U.S. capital is intended to provide a response to the nationalist extremism which is currently expanding throughout the world and especially in the former communist countries. In his home country, Iliescu enjoys the open support of anti-Semitic and nationalist extremist forces. Through the struggle of those forces—in such periodicals as EUROPA and ROMANIA MARE—against reform and democracy, which they consider as "a plot of international Jewish circles to subjugate Romania," they were unending in their praise for Ion Iliescu, whom they consider "a good Romanian" and "the only person who can take on the Jewish mafia." It is quite significant, for instance, that the anti-Semitic weekly EUROPA even awarded Iliescu a prize, which the president was clever enough to refuse.

Nevertheless, the gesture of that weekly is excellent proof that the anti-Semitic and nationalist extremist forces regard Iliescu as their man. Resorting to his typically ambiguous way of expressing himself, the president let them believe that he has no objections to being considered as such. Ion Iliescu's decision to attend an event intended to be a spectacular response to anti-Semitism and nationalist extremism doubtlessly proves that he is defying his current allies and even the conservative wing of the ruling party. However, Iliescu runs no real risk of losing their support. Currently, the very existence of these nationalist extremist forces depends exclusively on our country's president. Both Ilie Neacsu and [Greater Romania Party President] Corneliu Vadim Tudor—to mention just two of the public representatives of those forces—are fully aware that a mere signal from the president would be sufficient to make them vanish from our political life. That is why they keep silent and stomach all the defiance from the president. They will also keep silent and stomach this visit to Washington. They will also keep silent and stomach the fact that Ion Iliescu will attend the commemoration of the Holocaust victims on Sunday [18 April] at the Coral Temple in Bucharest. They will keep silent and stomach the fact that on the president's invitation, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen will accompany Iliescu to Washington.

The possible risks of the president's forthcoming journey stem from an entirely different source. That risk may result from the unwanted significance that may be attached to Iliescu's attendance at the events both at the Coral Temple and the Holocaust Memorial. Naturally, the Washington event is to be attended by other heads of state as well. However, compared with them, Iliescu is in a different situation. As everyone knows, very many Jewish people, including Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, determinedly claim that Romania is also one of the countries responsible for the tragedy of the Holocaust. Their attempt to incriminate the Romanian nation has not been rebuffed merely by our history experts, but actually by the entire Romanian society. And justly, too, considering the stance adopted by Romanians toward the Jews during World War II. We do not yet know what the two events that will be attended by Ion Iliescu will be like. However, since certain Jewish leaders consider us responsible for the Holocaust, there is the risk that the president's presence at the commemoration events at the Coral Temple and the opening of the Holocaust Memorial might be interpreted as the implicit acknowledgement of Romanian guilt.

## Melescanu Meets Officials in Mexico City

*AU2004121793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Mexico City, ROMPRES, 20/4/1993—Teodor Melescanu, minister of state, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, now in Mexico City, had interviews with his counterpart Fernando Solana Morales. They analyzed the state and prospects of the bilateral relations, mainly the ways of increasing and deepening the economic relations. Two documents were also signed on cooperation between cultural institutions and the abolition of the diplomatic and business visas between the two countries.

Teodor Melescanu also had talks with Emilio Gonzales Parra, president of the Mexican Senate, and with Fernando Sanchez Ugarte, secretary of state, acting minister of foreign trade and industrial development.

The Romanian foreign minister attended a ceremony at the Mexican Academy of International Law, where he was granted the title of honorary member. He lectured on "Romania's Joining in the Political-Strategic and Economic Euro-Atlantic Structures".

## UDMR 'Ethnic Cleansing' Alleged in Harghita

*AU2004075893 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Apr 93 p 2*

[Silviu Achim article "The Romanians in Harghita Feel Threatened"]

[Text] The Harghita County branches of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the National Salvation Front [FSN], the National Liberal Party [PNL], the Ecological Movement of Romania [MER], the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR], and the Republican Party [PR] have issued the following communique, which was presented at yesterday's [13 April] news conference held by the FDSN's spokesman, Mr. Dragos Paslaru:

"Alarmed by the obstinate persistence with which certain leaders of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] oppose our country's democratization, we, the Romanians in Harghita, have found ourselves in the tragicomical situation of having to notify the government and public that we have been subjected to discrimination ever since the revolution [in December 1989]. We should actually be informing the Council of Europe about the egoistical and aggressive intolerance of the UDMR leaders, who in Harghita County are completely ignoring the fact that that area is under the jurisdiction of the Romanian state (...)

Since the epithet "ethnic cleansing" has been introduced, it should be made known that this is applicable only to the attitude of the UDMR toward the Romanians in Harghita and that the planned efforts to eliminate Romanians from leading positions in local institutions and bodies is proceeding at this time. The fact that a prefect of Romanian origin is not accepted is just the latest in a long line of examples that began in an extremely tough way in the very first days of the December 1989 revolution.

We, the inhabitants of these parts, can confirm that simple people understand one another and cooperate in solving common problems and that the radicalism of certain UDMR leaders is not the result of realities in this area (...) Consequently, we ask the decisionmakers not to be intimidated in fully abiding by the Constitution and establishing a state ruled by law ALSO ON THE TERRITORY OF HARGHITA COUNTY (...)."

## Parliament To Review SRI Activities

*AU2004184593 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Apr 93 p 3*

[Text] Finally, the Romanian Parliament has decided the date that the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] should report on its activities since the time of its establishment. According to Nicolae Ulieru, SRI spokesman, this will be in the last week of April. The report will be presented within the joint plenary session of the two chambers of Parliament by [SRI Director] Virgil Magureanu. In accordance with the law, President Ion Iliescu must then nominate a candidate for SRI director to be confirmed by Parliament. This could be Mr. Magureanu or, as is rumored, FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front] Senator Radu Timofte. The new SRI chief will take office only after being endorsed by parliament.

## Army Allegedly Mobilized for Trade Union Rally

*AU2004130393 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Apr 93 p 8*

[J. Rica article: "Government Officials, Do Not Play With Fire Again!"—words in capital letters as published]

[Text] We have learned with bewilderment that, in view of the rally organized by the big FRATIA, CNSLR [National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania], and ALFA trade union confederations, the Army was put on alert on the basis of secret orders. It seems that massive mobilization and troop movement activities took place throughout the country, and it is also noteworthy that the troops were issued stored combat equipment! Thus, after Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu avoided, in a deplorable fashion, participation in a direct dialogue with trade union leaders held at the television studios—preferring to appear "after" that program—the CLAIMS OF TRADE UNIONS are answered with the MOBILIZATION OF THE ARMY AND WITH COMBAT EQUIPMENT!

While CORRUPTION is having a good time, together with the government, the HUNGER MARCH organized by the big trade unions is answered with the MOBILIZATION OF THE ARMY. Thus, as in December 1989, THOSE IN POWER are determined to answer desperate people's demands in the only way of settling issues they have known and continue to know: BY FORCE. We are expecting the Ministry of National Defense to give us some explanation of these military "maneuvers" and tell us who is the author of the secret order to declare a state of alert and to issue troops the stored combat equipment. As far as I understand, Defense Minister Spiroiu was not told the real reason for the mobilization.

Probably Emanuel Valeriu [television moderator] knew something when on the [9 April] Friday night television show he suddenly asked the three trade union leaders present: ARE YOU NOT AFRAID THAT A SERIOUS CONFLICT MIGHT BREAK OUT? In this case, the Army would have been prepared, would it not? No serious conflict broke out!

## HVO, Army To Resume Cease-Fire Negotiations

*AU2104092293*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 21 April carries in its 18-minute newscast two reports on the fighting between the Croatian defense council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in central Bosnia.

Reporting from Konjic, Edhem Badzak says that "yesterday's shelling of the town and the surroundings was one of the worst in this war. The worst aspect of it was that the shells were coming from positions held by the HVO, the town's erstwhile defenders. Until late in the afternoon, a genuine three-sided artillery battle was raging. The chetniks were shelling Bosnia-Herzegovina Army positions using tanks and howitzers from their positions in Borci and Bijela, while the the HVO pounded the town from their positions in (?Ilovane Vode) and elsewhere. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces responded to both." He says that "the fighting died down with the first evening hours."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 44th Hill Brigade Press Service reports from Jablanica that "it was a horrible night. Jablanica and the surrounding area were pounded with heavy caliber shells until 0600 this morning from the positions of the HVO and the Croatian Army. It was particularly bad on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army defensive positions. Over 200 shells landed on Jablanica, and two fighters were wounded. All the negotiations, agreements, and signatures of the representatives of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO have come to nothing. The HVO soldiers do not respect any of that, as they continue destroying, burning, and looting. The fates of about 1,500 Muslim women, children, and elderly people are still unknown." The report says that "the meeting should continue today between representatives from HVO headquarters, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Fourth Corps, EC military observers, the command of the 44th Hill Brigade, the communal defense headquarters, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Jablanica, with the aim of reaching an urgent halting of these clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO."

## Croats, Muslims Reach Cease-Fire Agreement in Mostar

*LD2004171393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Report from Mostar by Slavko Rako]

[Text] At the moment when I am filing this dispatch, Mostar is an ominously deserted town. Early this afternoon a member of the Croatian defense council [HVO] was treacherously killed by a sniper bullet. This is the second Croat killed by a sniper bullet, while another sustained serious injuries.

After 2000 yesterday evening Muslim snipers attacked HVO formations, which responded, and exchanges of fire lasted until dawn. The HVO formations did not suffer any losses, and as we have learned from Muslim sources, on their side three people were killed and four sustained injuries.

Negotiations between representatives of the HVO and the Muslim forces were in progress all day with the participation of UN officials. Several minutes ago a joint statement was issued signed by Petar Zelenika, director of the headquarters for the southeast Herzegovina operational zone, and Arif Pasalic, commander of the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. An agreement has been reached on setting up a joint command point near Hit, which will be headed by one officer each from the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; its control will be exercised along Bulevar Street to the Hotel Ero.

All HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army formations, according to this agreement, must withdraw to facilities in which they are otherwise accommodated and which should be guarded by only one sentry. The statement says that combat positions along the demarcation line must not be taken, and all urgent transit, both of vehicles and people, will be jointly authorized. UN Protection Force armored personnel carriers will be stationed at four points: near the health center, Hit, the Catholic church, and the Hotel Ero. The citizens have been called on to strictly observe the curfew.

## UNPROFOR To Supervise Peace

*AU2004155893*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 20 April carries the following reports on tensions between Croatian defense council [HVO] units and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army:

An announcer-read report claims that "General Philippe Morillon, commander of UN troops for Bosnia-Herzegovina, will continue his efforts today to overcome the clashes and tensions between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Mostar." As has been reported, Morillon attended yesterday's meeting in Medjugorje between Sefer Halilovic, commander of the General Staff of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Brigadier Milivoj Petkovic, commander of the HVO general staff, where it was agreed to "immediately halt all hostilities and order the field commanders to end hostilities." The report adds that UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] patrols will supervise the cessation of fighting in Herzegovina.

"The fiercest clashes between the members of HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were fought near Vitez yesterday," an announcer-read report states. "According to the report of the British battalion, which is stationed near Vitez, at least five people died and 14 were wounded," says the report. The report also says that the HVO yesterday opened fire on two UNPROFOR armored personnel carriers. "The Danish soldiers in the vehicles returned fire and shot one HVO soldier. His condition is unknown," the report concludes.

"One woman was killed by sniper fire and three Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers died in overnight fighting between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in Mostar," says an announcer-read report. The HVO fighters "used all available infantry weapons and 120-mm mortars" in their attacks, the report states. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO commanders agreed that "UNPROFOR troops would enter Mostar in the course of the day to prevent further clashes."

Konjic correspondent Edherm Badzak says "that the deceptive lull" in the region was interrupted by machine-gun fire "from the hills around Konjic" this morning. He reports no other hostilities.

"There is peace in Zenica today, at least for the time being," says Zenica correspondent Mujo Delibegovic. He reports, however, that "there are no people in the streets." Delibegovic reports that the condition of the 17 people wounded in yesterday's shelling of the center of town "is mostly stable, expect for one patient whose life is still in danger."

## Croat, Muslim Clashes Continue in Vitez Area

*AU2104070093 Paris AFP in English 0652 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, April 21 (AFP)—A cease-fire in central Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croat forces and the Bosnian Army failed to stop the fighting Wednesday [21 April].

A British army spokesman with a U.N. battalion in the central town of Vitez told AFP Wednesday that shelling there continued "until fairly late last night" and resumed Wednesday at 5:00 a.m.

Radio Sarajevo reported "some problems" in respecting the cease-fire in the areas of Jablanica, Mostar and Busovaca as well, but gave no details.

The truce, which was supposed to come into effect at 7.00 p.m. (1700 GMT) Tuesday, was agreed by the opposing commanders under the chairmanship of French General Philippe Morillon, the U.N. Protection Force commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked by Radio Sarajevo whether he thought the cease-fire would hold, he replied: "I am not a great optimist."

## Muslims Reportedly Massacred

*LD2004213793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Members of special police units of the Croatian defense council who had come from Herzegovina have perpetrated a serious massacre of the Muslim civilian population in the village of (?Azmici) in the municipality of Vitez, says a report by the Zenica-based center for investigating war crimes against the Muslims. According to statements by eyewitnesses, men, women and children were put to death on their doorsteps. A three-month-old baby was also killed. (Sabahundin Zec) and his family were burned in their house. The center for investigating war crimes against the Muslims in Zenica called on friends among the Croatian people to make their stand known regarding this crime. Neither is this case of the criminal ethnic cleansing going to remain unknown or hidden behind the Srebrenica tragedy, the report says. The report adds that the fate of more than 90 drivers abducted from a humanitarian convoy is still uncertain and that many foreign nationals have also been abducted by fighters of the Croatian defense council on the Novi Travnik-Sajgas road.

## UN Sources Report Atrocities

*AU2104075693 Paris AFP in English 2220 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Report by Hugh Nevill]

[Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—U.N. sources reported looting, multiple rape, the torching of villages and executions carried out at point-blank range in central Bosnia-Herzegovina Tuesday [20 April] as Croat forces and the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army attacked civilians of the opposite ethnic group.

A rough tally from various sources gave a toll of at least 250 dead, 300 wounded and thousands displaced since the fighting flared April 15.

In the central town of Vitez, where the Moslem and Croat populations are approximately equal, entire families were executed in their homes with "short-range shots to the head," one U.N. official said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Two doctors travelling, on a nearby road were also executed with bullets in the head, he said.

The official reported Bosnian soldiers looting homes in Vitez, and said "hysterical" Moslem villagers were fleeing nearby after Croat soldiers had threatened to kill them within three hours.

He said multiple rape by Croat soldiers in the Vitez area had been confirmed.

Reliable reports were coming in from all over central Bosnia-Herzegovina of forced expulsions and looting by both sides, he said.

Both sides are fighting for territory in clashes which started Thursday, evolving fast into full-scale warfare, with big towns under steady shellfire and infantry engagements taking place throughout the area.

Serb forces are lobbing long-range shells into some of the combat zones as their colleagues engage the outgunned and outnumbered Bosnian Army on other fronts around the country.

The fighting in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which both sides are struggling for territory, started after an ultimatum from the Croats.

The Bosnian Army troops and Croat forces clashed earlier in the war, then joined in an uneasy alliance against the Serbs, who are intent on gaining broad swathes of territory and expelling the two other ethnic groups from those regions, a policy which has become known as "ethnic cleansing."

The Croats decided recently to implement an international peace plan, still rejected by the Serbs, demanding that Bosnian soldiers in the three provinces assigned as Croat-controlled place themselves under Croat command, or withdraw.

The savage fighting which resulted has thrown the formerly calm centre of this former Yugoslav republic into chaos, with thousands of civilians fleeing from mixed communities to polarise among their kindred. Most roads are cut, blocking the aid convoys on which tens of thousands of people depend for survival in the second year of the three-way war.

In the centre and south, towns and many villages are ethnically mixed—as are family ties—but that mingling has come to a brutal end.

In the central town of Vitez, some 75 kilometres (45 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, U.N. armoured personnel carriers (APCs) were taking wounded and dead civilians to hospitals and morgues Tuesday, but leaving wounded soldiers in the streets for recuperation by their own comrades, said Captain Lee Smart of the U.N. British battalion based there.

He said the British APCs were patrolling, but that the British troops were taking their lead from officials working for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) because earlier assistance to fleeing Moslems had been been turned by Croat forces into an allegation—"completely untrue"—that the British soldiers were handing out arms to the Moslems.

The soldiers were still giving lifts to civilians in the town when they were in "extreme danger," Smart said.

Commanders of the opposing sides signed an agreement Tuesday under the chairmanship of French General Philippe Morillon, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, to take effect at 7:00 p.m. (1700 GMT).

Reports coming in after that were sparse, but it appeared the fighting had calmed somewhat.

Bosnian media reported heavy Croat attacks throughout the area during the day, with residents taking cover in key towns as shellfire crashed in.

Lord Owen, the European Community's mediator for the conflict and co-author of the Vance-Owen peace plan, is to fly to Zagreb Saturday to try to convince Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban to order a halt to the fighting, U.N. officials in Geneva announced.

### Morillon Not Optimistic

*LD2004212593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Excerpts] I am getting a signal from the producer that we have just received a report from this evening's meeting in Zenica. Let me remind you that this is a meeting between top-level representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army and the Croat defense council [HVO], a meeting which discussed clashes between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, that is, HVO attacks on populated areas and units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army in central Bosnia and in Herzegovina. I have just learned that the correspondent is Mujo Delibegovic, and here is his dispatch from Zenica.

[Delibegovic] More shells are falling on Zenica. A meeting between top-level representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO finished shortly before this bulletin. [passage omitted]

General Philippe Morillon stressed on behalf of the mediators that a special cease-fire agreement has not been signed, but it has been agreed to issue special orders on cessation of hostilities. He added that joint groups in charge of overseeing these orders have been formed. The British battalion will take part in all these activities.

Morillon said he is not too optimistic that things will be done quickly, because communication lines are bad, so it is likely that even Zenica itself will feel the consequences of that conflict.

While top-level representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO were meeting, destructive shells were falling on residential areas in Zenica this evening. This shows either that soldiers are not obeying orders of their top military commander or that this was a part of a well-designed plan. Only time will tell which is true. Until then, innocent civilians will continue to be killed in Zenica and [words indistinct]. We have learned from unofficial sources that six innocent people were killed in Zenica this evening by shells fired from HVO positions.

## UNPROFOR To Defend Cease-Fire in Srebrenica

### Canadians Defending Town

*AU2104093193 Paris AFP in English 0914 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, April 21 (AFP)—U.N. troops in Srebrenica were using explosives, blow torches and armoured cars Wednesday [21 April] to destroy the weapons and ammunition of the town's Bosnian army defenders after the Bosnian Serbs refused extension of a midday (1000 GMT) deadline for its "demilitarisation."

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer pledged that the thin blue line of 145 Canadian U.N. soldiers in Srebrenica would defend the eastern town from any attack by the Serbs massed on surrounding hills.

"We have a responsibility for the people in the area," Frewer said. "We will defend the enclave."

## UN To Destroy Muslim Weapons

*AU2104091593 Paris AFP in English 0906 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, April 21 (AFP)—U.N. troops in the besieged eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica will destroy all Moslem Bosnian army weapons there by midday (1000 GMT) Wednesday [21 April], the U.N. Protection Force announced here.

The Bosnian Serbs had earlier refused to extend a 72-hour deadline which expires Wednesday afternoon for the disarming of Moslem forces in Srebrenica.

## 'Very Few' Soldiers Disarming

*AU2004124493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Half an hour ago, the regular news conference at UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Sarajevo headquarters ended. Topics discussed were the situation in Srebrenica and other events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to UNPROFOR, sporadic fighting and infantry weapons' fire were reported around Srebrenica during the night and early morning. The city itself was relatively quiet. Helicopters airlifted 351 wounded out of Srebrenica yesterday. Since the beginning of this operation, 484 people have been airlifted out of Srebrenica and taken to Tuzla.

Members of the Canadian battalion have reported the presence of enemy tanks some 2 km south of Srebrenica. According to UNPROFOR representative Barry Frewer, only very few of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers in Srebrenica have handed over their weapons to the Canadian battalion, while in the city, the process of demilitarization has not yet started. That is why at today's meeting of the mixed military group to be held at Sarajevo Airport, it will be requested that the 72-hour deadline designated for completing the demilitarization of Srebrenica be extended for at least another 72 hours. It has still not been decided within which geographic borders this operation will be carried out, nor the way in which the enemy troops are to retreat from their present positions in the immediate vicinity of the town. After yesterday's stoning of one of the UNHCR's [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] convoys in Zvornik, the new convoy is still on the territory of the republic of Serbia in Banja Koviljaca, where it is awaiting guarantees that a similar incident will not be repeated.

## UN Demands End to Stoning

*AU2004150793 Paris AFP in English 1449 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—Evacuation and aid convoys will not go into the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica until nearby Bosnian Serb authorities stop civilians stoning the trucks, U.N. officials said Tuesday [20 April].

Peter Kessler, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said a convoy which had delivered aid to Srebrenica was stoned Monday [19 April] by children and teenagers just south of the Bosnian-Serb held town of Zvornik, on the Drina River border with Serbia, as it was returning empty to Belgrade.

Men in uniform stood by without doing anything as the stone-throwers broke two windscreens and hit but did not injure one driver, he said.

Stone-throwers have smashed 19 windscreens in the past few weeks, injuring four drivers, Kessler said.

In Belgrade, the UNHCR said a convoy scheduled to travel to Srebrenica Tuesday had been cancelled and the agency would try again Wednesday if sufficient security guarantees were obtained from the Serbs.

"We have not obtained the guarantees we demanded from the Bosnian Serbs and it is now too late for the convoy to continue," UNHCR spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs said at 3:30 P.M. (1330 GMT).

The convoy—nine trucks carrying food and five empty vehicles to take refugees from the town—were waiting in the Serbian village of Banja Koviljaca.

"We will try again tomorrow," Sachs said.

In Monday's incident, Kessler said, "there were uniformed persons standing by, which leads us to believe that this stoning has some kind of state sanction."

"Our drivers will not be sending trucks into Srebrenica until our drivers are satisfied that they have some security."

The UNHCR has 50 trucks standing by in Belgrade for a mass evacuation of the former silver mining and spa resort town, where 30,000 civilians are trapped by Serb soldiers on surrounding hills.

Defending troops of the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army who are inside a perimeter to be drawn around the town are obliged under a cease-fire agreement signed Sunday to surrender their weapons to U.N. troops.

### Serbs Protest Reconnaissance Patrols

*LD2004104693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Bratunac, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—The cease-fire in the Srebrenica area, which has been in place since 0500 last Sunday [18 April], is being fully respected today again, TANJUG has learned from Serbian military sources.

However, according to these sources, members of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Canadian unit have been overstepping their authority by sending reconnaissance patrols from Srebrenica to the immediate vicinity of Serbian positions.

The Serbian side has protested to UNPROFOR demanding that Canadian soldiers in the peace mission adhere to their mandate, TANJUG has learned from Serbian military sources.

### Mladic Refuses To Extend Disarmament Deadline

*AU2104075593 Paris AFP in English 0743 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic has rejected a U.N. request for an extention to Sunday's 72-hour deadline for disarming Moslems in besieged Srebrenica, the Bosnian SRNA agency reported here Wednesday [21 April].

Mladic, who met Tuesday evening at Sarajevo airport with the U.N. commander for the former Yugoslavia, General Lars Eric Wahlgren, has insisted that the original deadline "must be respected," failing which "all undertakings by the Serb party towards UNPROFOR (the U.N. forces) will cease Wednesday at 1805 (1605 GMT)," the agency quoted him as saying.

Canadian troops serving with the U.N. arrrived in the besieged Moslem town of Srebrenica on Sunday to disarm fighters there after Serbs and Moslems had negotiated a ceasefire for the eastersn Bosnian town.

U.N. troops said Tuesday however that they required more time to complete their task.

#### Says Agreement Conditional

*LD2104095893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—Swedish General Lars Eric Wahlgren, commander of the peace force for former Yugoslavia, and Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the general staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], agreed last night at Sarajevo airport on the demilitarization of Srebrenica, that is, that the Muslim soldiers must surrender their weapons by 1205 on 21 April, the SRNA agency reports.

Gen. Ratko Mladic told SRNA that a mixed commission, including three Serbian, three Muslim, and three UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] officers, will monitor the surrender of Muslim weaponry at Srebrenica's stadium.

"If the Muslim side fails to honor the agreement, that is if it fails to surrender the arms by the agreed deadline, all obligations assumed by the Serbian side toward the UNPROFOR will cease," Gen. Mladic said in his statement to SRNA.

Swedish General Wahlgren also told SRNA that the UNPROFOR will honor its mandate on the basis of an agreement signed between Ratko Mladic and Sefer Halilovic, and that the Muslim forces in Srebrenica will today surrender all their weapons and combat equipment.

As SRNA reports, at the end of his talks with Gen. Mladic, Gen. Wahlgren expressed satisfaction with the Serbian side's cooperation and pointed in particular to the unhindered evacuation of 484 wounded Muslim civilians and soldiers from Srebrenica.

### Mladic on Muslim Arms Surrender, NATO Overflights

*LD2004201093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—I will point out to General Eric Lars Wahlgren, UN Protection Force commander for the former Yugoslavia, that he "will be held personally responsible if the Muslim forces in Srebrenica fail to surrender their weapons by 1205 tomorrow," Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], said on the eve of his talks with Wahlgren, which are expected to take place tonight at Sarajevo airport, SRNA reports.

General Mladic stressed that he will lodge a strong protest with the peace force commander against NATO warplanes overflying the territory of the Serb republic.

"Instead of flying at an altitude of 3,000 meters, as stipulated by international conventions, the aircraft are flying at an altitude of as little as 150 meters, which can result in serious consequences," Mladic said. He added, according to SRNA: "If any incidents were to take place, the Serb side would bear no responsibility for them."

### NATO Planes Spot First Infringement of No-Fly Zone

*LD2004201193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Rome, April 20 (TANJUG)—Two U.S. air force F-15 Eagle jets on Monday [19 April] for the first time since the NATO operation named "Deny Flight" began over Bosnia spotted a helicopter in flight near Banja Luka, a NATO spokesman said on Tuesday in the Vicenza air base, Italy.

Italian General Antonio Milani said it was the first "direct visual contact" with an aircraft of the "other side" since "Deny Flight" began on April 12.

NATO AWACS [airborne warning and control systems] aircraft had previously registered [word indistinct] flying intercepts in the no-fly zone over the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but none had been visually identified by the enforcers.

The helicopter was said to have descended rapidly, and was later seen on the ground, its rotor turning.

Milani said he did not believe NATO could play a decisive role in possible future operations on land in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He added that aerial bombardment would also be very hard to effect because it was impossible to differentiate between military and civilian targets.

Asked about the alleged threat posed by missiles possessed by Bosnian Serbs, Milani said that NATO was not at war with any side in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it was only doing what had been asked of it with a maximum of caution and concern.

The risks, he said, are the same as in any other operation.

### Serbian Officer Denies Violation

*LD2104102593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Apr (TANJUG)—Col-Gen Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of general staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], has denied a CNN report that while carrying out skies control operations over former Bosnia-Herzegovina NATO aircraft spotted a Serbian helicopter near Banja Luka and forced it to land, SRNA reports.

His denial claims that not a single helicopter of the army of the Serb republic took off yesterday and that this report represents a misinterpretation of the fact that at that time an ambulance helicopter at Banja Luka airport had its engine running.

But this helicopter did not fly as it was kept on standby to carry out the emergency evacuation of a seriously wounded person. This was reported to UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] observers on time, hence any forced landing is out of the question, Gen. Milovanovic says.

### Buha: Churkin Proposal 'Hardly Worth Mentioning'

*LD2004175793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1449 GMT 20 Apr 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 20 (TANJUG)—The Foreign Minister of the Serb republic in Bosnia, Aleksa Buha, said on Tuesday [20 April] that the changes in the boundaries of the provinces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, recently proposed by special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin, "are hardly worth mentioning."

Buha told TANJUG that Churkin announced the possibility that Russian "blue helmets" could monitor a corridor along the Sava River, thus linking the Serb provinces in Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"We do not need somebody else's corridor through our own territory," he said and added that such a proposal is only a variation of the free road guarantees provided by the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia.

Buha expressed doubt in the effectiveness of the U.N. guarantees recalling the example of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) which has been constantly attacked by the Croatian armed forces since January 22 despite the fact that it is a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA).

The Bosnia Serbs refuse to sign the peace plan, set up by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, which deprives them of over 20 percent of their lands before the war and isolates them from each other and from parent Serbia.

Commenting Lord Owen's forthcoming visit to Belgrade on Wednesday, Buha said: "I do not know what we can talk about with someone who publicly and persistently urges the bombardment of the Serbs, although he should be well aware that, as a mediator, he must remain impartial."

Buha said that "the time has come to demand from Great Britain and the European Community to replace Lord Owen with someone else."

"The hospitality which will, despite everything, be extended to Lord Owen in Belgrade, is an act normally unacceptable to a self-respecting people and state," he said.

Lord Owen is scheduled to meet with the presidents of Yugoslavia and Serbia, Dobrica Cosic and Slobodan Milosevic respectively, while a meeting with Bosnia Serb leader Radovan Karadzic is not planned.

The U.N. Security Council on Sunday decided to tighten the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (effective on April 26) unless the Bosnia Serbs sign the Vance-Owen maps which divide this former Yugoslav republic into ten provinces.

### Serbian Army Protests Against U.S. Plane in Sarajevo

*LD2004215293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—The information service of the general staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] issued a statement this evening disclosing that Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] representatives "have crudely violated the principles of their humanitarian organization" today.

The statement distributed to TANJUG says that "six American soldiers and a box full of telecommunication equipment were aboard a C-130 plane hired from the U.S. Army, which took off from Ancona and landed at Sarajevo airport at 1010. The soldiers had neither American army insignia nor ranks, and the box with telecommunication equipment was earmarked for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army."

UN civilian and military police at Sarajevo airport had no information about the arrival of these soldiers and their cargo, the statement says. "After a Serb republic inspector checked the plane's cargo, the UN police at Sarajevo airport expressed a high degree of cooperation and responsibility in identifying the soldiers and their load, following which all soldiers and loads with telecommunication equipment aboard the 1114 Central European Time plane [as received] were returned to Split."

The general staff of the Serb republic has lodged a sharp protest with the UNHCR in connection with this abuse of humanitarian missions, and expressed its astonishment that this humanitarian organisation is increasingly getting involved "in the dishonorable and dirty business of providing assistance to Alija's [reference to President Izetbegovic] jihad warriors," the statement stresses.

## British UNPROFOR Helicopter Hit by Ground Fire

*LD2004162193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, April 20 (TANJUG)—A British helicopter flying for the U.N. Peacekeeping Forces in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) was hit by ground fire but landed successfully near Split, a town on the Adriatic coast in Croatia, the REUTERS News Agency on Tuesday [20 April] quoted the Defence Ministry (MoD) in London as saying.

The helicopter was flying over a region in central Bosnia which is now the scene of fierce fighting between Bosnian Moslems and Croats.

The MoD said it could not establish with certainty who had fired the bullets on the craft, one of two which had taken part in the evacuation of wounded and sick from Srebrenica, a Moslem-held enclave in the eastern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A British UNPROFOR serviceman was on Monday hit by a bullet fired from a handgun during a clash between Bosnian Croats and Moslems near Vitez, a spokesman for the British peacekeepers in the town, which lies in central Bosnia, said on Tuesday.

Clashes between Bosnian Croats and Moslems, who are allies in the fight against the Bosnian Serbs, in the past few days flared up in all areas in central Bosnia-Herzegovina which have mixed Moslem-Croat populations.

## French Soldier Wounded at Sarajevo Airport

*LD2004181893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1452 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Belgrade, April 20 (TANJUG)—A French soldier within the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and three civilians were wounded on Monday [19 April] at Sarajevo airport, TANJUG learned on Tuesday at the UNPROFOR headquarters in Belgrade.

UNPROFOR did not say which side fired the shots, only that automatic weapons were used.

It said that the ceasefire was respected in Sarajevo on Monday with only sporadic artillery and sniper fire.

The humanitarian airlift also continued with 16 planes carrying food and medications landing on Monday, UNPROFOR said.

## Life in Mostar, Herceg-Bosna Described

*93BA0893C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 93 pp 38-39*

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Life in the Valley of Death"]

[Text]History in Herzegovina has always been shaped by wars and invasions, with censuses taken in the interim, if there is any.

The smells of mixed grill, onions, and scorched ruins mix in what used to be the central district around the Old Bridge, the only one that still spans the Neretva in Mostar, the city that is clearly an exception in this war. Serbian armed forces were stationed in it and in the hills surrounding it, and here they suffered defeat. Forced out of the city into the Podvelezje Hills after a short but furious battle that is still being talked about in Herzegovina, just like the days when the young armed forces, sustained by the enthusiasm of warriors, crossed the Neretva while the sky and river were the same bloody color from the wounded and dead and from the shells that transformed the Mostar basin into a valley of death. The only indications of this today are the graves in parks and the central districts along the Neretva, which have almost entirely disappeared in flames. Old post cards of the city arouse memories, but the images today provide only warnings and shuddering: a city burned by brimstone like the biblical Nineveh, with the occasional resident strolling through the devastated streets, soldiers in transit, and the smell of mixed grill coming from half-destroyed buildings, in a hurry to once again be a market town.

There are still reminders of the war here, in the form of missiles that fall on the city at irregular intervals, air-raid signals, and the departure of young people to the nearby front. The further we get from the river, the more life there is. Some shops and administrative and military buildings are open, bars are not wanting for customers, and commerce on the streets is very brisk. Wherever we go, there are refugees, exiles, women in black, but also smartly dressed ladies walking listlessly to destinations known only to them. The city's traffic lights are not working, military commanders and leaders of the provisional government are driven around in large limousines, and in somewhat smaller cars, with or without license plates, are those somewhat lower in rank or ordinary citizens who had the good fortune not to have the fruits of their labors blown to bits by missiles, which have been here in abundance. This is evidenced by wounds on buildings, the dissected tree trunks on the once-beautiful tree-lined streets of Mostar, or the denuded family homes that did not fare well under the law of probability and large numbers.

### Silent Stories

But this is also shown by the silent stories of human destinies that the war forced onto this city, of people for whom this is what life means now, who seem to have experienced so much unpleasantness that they have aged several years, separated from their families or so impoverished that do not fail to turn up at the exact, specified time with the properly authenticated identity card in front of the office of humanitarian agencies, which are operating here irreproachably. The buses are not running very often, so that those who need to travel stop at an intersection on the outskirts of town, regardless of age. A Muslim forced out of Podvelezje who is returning from the front and heading out for leave "with his own people" in Gradska, near Ljubuski. An older university professor, with tenure and without pay, who says that until last year he had a good car and a furnished apartment, but now all of that is gone. He went only to save some of his things, so that they would not be taken by those who enter other people's apartments not only at night, but also by day, and become wartime profiteers. An ordinary soldier also stops, now a member of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] but who was a member of Croatian police units at the beginning of the war against Croatia. He talks, reluctantly because I recognize him, about the battle of Cepikuce when 22 of them, one platoon, in a ravine above the city kept Montenegrin reservists from passing, engaging them, he says, for 10 days of general grief in Niksic. To this day he is uncertain about why they were order to retreat, because, he says, those positions were impregnable. They battered them from the air 14 days before that, and nothing happened to anyone. "Ram your head into a crevice and wait for it to stop," he says both to himself and to me, ducking his head inside the car as if he were still there. He also talks about Daidza, his commander there, who was with him there, unlike these commanders today, he says, the majority of whom do not dare turn up near the front. "They know two karate moves, drive stolen BMW's, and try to smuggle through the occasional truckload of goods," the soldier says, returning to Cepikuce when he is reminded of it by Dubrovnik Mayor Pero Poljanic. "We asked him to bring us a ZOLJA [hand-held missile launcher], but convinced as he was that the Serbs would not attack the Dubrovnik area, he brought us a television set. But Cepikuce is in a valley and cannot receive a single channel without a special antenna."

Besides locals and refugees, there are also people in the city who just happened to be there, either passing through or on business. Now they are here. In the places where they used to be, such as Visegrad, everything has been destroyed, their brother has been killed, another has been taken prisoner, and there are many more ordinary stories of war. The trip from Mostar to the Croatian border is very short, passing through Herceg-Bosna, as it is called in all official documents and on building inscriptions. Ljubuski is one of the border towns. It is a small town, but used to be the capital of a kotar. Ever since the Turks arrived, it has always been in some sort of border zone. After the fall of Bosnia, the Turks spent another 20 years subjugating Herzegovina, and Ljubuski had a fort, the castle of Duke Stjepan. The Turks captured it twice, the latter time definitively for the next 500 years, and then they posted 26 soldiers in that castle as border police against the neighbors at that time, the Venetians. In 1471, a person of Islamic faith first appeared in the area west of the Neretva. In this way, history in Herzegovina has been shaped by wars and invasions, with censuses taken in the interim, with women not counted in most cases.

### New Class

Nothing new, says a high school history teacher. You must survive this, unless you perish heroically. But today even that is increasingly difficult. Most schools in Herceg-Bosna are open, but salaries for school staff are more a sign of respect for the formerly well-off middle class. For the majority of them who do not live in town, it has all boiled down to bravery—whether or not to go to Caritas. The population is impoverished; they openly exchange their last reserves of hard currency earned abroad on the city streets and form a small, new class—primarily those about whom you do not know where their capital came from nor what sort of business they are involved in. In every case they are close to those in power (and were close to them under the last system as well), so that they should not be believed when through some journalist subordinate to them they catch some petty smuggler and announce a campaign against crime and corruption.

As time goes by, the population begins to come to its senses. They have less and less tolerance for this sort of rapaciousness. If more order is not established in this region and if genuine security is not created that will eliminate self-styled groups that can execute their own law "under orders" and at gunpoint, then there will not be a good climate for later life, but rather one for a showdown that will come because of revolt by the people. Well-armed and motivated by the systematic accumulation of injustice.

On our way back, we crossed the border between Croatia and Herceg-Bosna without noticing. Specifically, there was no electricity in Herzegovina or in Dalmatia. A storm had knocked down the lines. But that did not stop a performance by the War Theater of the HVO, which gives its performances regardless of conditions. Enthusiasts.

## Physician on Identification of Serbian Victims

*93BA0866D Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 93 p 11*

[Article by Mira Vucinic: "Death With Chains"]

[Text] Were it not for the war, Godjevsko Brdo, above Kamenica, would remain recognizable to the random traveler for its thick oak forests and open pits, which number more than some 20 in this area. However, history has assigned it a different destiny. Godjevsko Brdo will be marked down as the site of an unprecedented crime against the Serbian people, and its pits have been bloodied and marked for all time. The bodies of 38 murdered Serbs whom Muslim soldiers mistreated and subjected to monstrous methods of torture were found in them. They were found by members of the Army of the Serbian Republic [RS] when they liberated Kamenica. The smell of putrefaction led them to the site of the crime. First, they discovered a pit with 18 corpses, then one with five, then four, eight, and three.... The story about the tragic suffering of the Serbs once again becomes a story of daggers and pits.

### The Painful Knowledge About the Victims

Dr. Zoran Stankovic, a specialist in forensic medicine at the VMA [Military Medical Academy], arrived at the site of the crime on 17 February with medical technicians Milan Zarkovic and Momcilo Vuckovic, in order to provide aid in identification of the bodies and so that the biased TV stations would not use those victims in their anti-Serbian propaganda. They had to prove that the victims were Serbs, local people, guarding their homes, bestially murdered by the Muslims. At the same time, the identification was supposed to help in beginning to unravel the skein of truth about the Serbs that disappeared from the area of Zvornik and who have been missing without a trace since last November.

"By establishing the age of the corpses, we arrived at the answer that these people were killed at that time. But only men have been found. We can only hypothesize about the fate of the women, children, and elderly," Dr. Stankovic says.

"All the corpses were in a stage of advanced putrefaction. Most of them were missing some larger or smaller part of the body, and almost all of them lacked personal effects, articles, and documents. Only two watches and two wedding rings were found. These unfortunates were identified by relatives on the basis of remnants of clothing, the condition of their teeth, bridgework, and characteristic parts of the body. It was not possible to make identification by dactyloscopic finding because of putrefaction, nor could blood types be determined. But in spite of all the circumstances that made it more difficult, we identified 30 people," Dr. Stankovic continues.

In speaking about the number of injuries, our well-known expert from the VMA says that he cannot speak with certainty about a precise number, because certain body parts were missing, but it is obvious that some of the people were killed by rifle fire, some committed suicide by holding a hand grenade beneath their chest so that they would not fall into enemy hands, and some were brutally killed. These people were identified. It is well-known, for example, that Sava Djokic, the oldest in the group, was bound hand and foot with a chain, Miladin Asceric was decapitated, Zoran Urumovic's right ear was cut off, and Trisa Mihajlovic was tied up with wire and had a noose of plastic twine around his neck. The victims, then, are known, but unfortunately those who committed these loathsome deeds are not known at present, except that they came from the ranks of the Muslim extremists, who until recently had been neighbors of the victims.

Most of those identified were buried in Zvornik. We also buried victims who in the course of the subsequent investigation will be identified on the basis of photographs and videotape, description of the clothing, teeth, and characteristic body parts. We hope that their names will also be known soon.

### Why Representatives of the European Mission Are Silent

Aside from the domestic and foreign journalists, the project of the team to identify the victims has also been visited by representatives of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. They listed those who were killed and those who had been victims of extreme mistreatment and inhuman sadism, Dr. Stankovic says, adding, "Then we were also visited by representatives of the European Mission—Belgians, who asked if their pathologist could observe our work. We consented, we stopped work and waited for this physician to turn up from Belgium. This was 18 February. When he did not turn up even the next day, we had to resume work. The pathologist who was supposed to come did not turn up even by the time the team had finished its work. Why? We do not know that. If they wanted, they could have seen the victims of torture and learned their names. They knew these were Serbs, because almost all the people have been identified. They said only that they were sorry for those who were killed, but they did not want to even talk to their relatives.

"Perhaps they could not or did not want to face the speechless faces of the grieving wives, the crying children left without their fathers, and there were more than 50 of them. They did not want to acknowledge that these men—the youngest was 19, and the oldest 63—were murdered and tortured only because they are Serbs. Or some kind of conspiracy of silence is involved."

Here, before the scene of the shallow pits of Godjevsko Brdo and the frozen puddles from which the corpses were pulled, one's heart stops and the eye is dumbstruck. There remains only a cry of pain and the question: Why?

## Croatian, Bosnian Serbs To Establish Joint Assembly

*LD2004140893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Okucani, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—At the suggestion of Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina today decided to hold a joint session of the assemblies of the two Serbian republics on Saturday 24 April.

This session, which is expected to take place in Novi Grad [formerly Bosanski Brod], Koljevic explains, "will provide a unanimous response to today's pressures and blackmail. Our shared hardship will be easier to bear while our common cause will give an answer to all questions."

His suggestion met with a standing ovation. Thus, implementation of the Prijedor Declaration—the two assemblies beginning work on the gradual unification of the two Serbian republics.

The draft decision to set up a joint assembly was explained by Milovan Milanovic vice president of the republic of Serb Krajina Assembly . The joint assembly, which has already been branded the great people's assembly of the Serbian republic, is expected to have a proportional number of deputies—82 [as received]. According to Milanovic, the assembly will harmonize Serb Republic and Republic of Serb Krajina legislation and be dutybound to implement jointly endorsed policies in the sphere of foreign affairs, defense and security, land management, education, culture, and a uniform information system. There will be the same monetary and credit system as well as the same financial framework in the sphere of economic relations.

This decision envisages a coordinating body, including the current holders of the highest posts in the republic of Serb Krajina and in the Serb republic while executive powers will be vested in a joint government—a 16-strong ministerial council, including the same number of deputies on a proportional basis, and headed by a premier.

In the course of its work the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina also elected deputies to the joint assembly in line with the principle of three deputies from each municipality.

The preceding debate, occasionally heated and polemical, on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 802, made all the participants fully agree on one point—their rejection of the "Geneva papers".

## Serbs Discuss Unification

*AU2004133793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] The assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina is meeting in Okucani. Here is a report by Dragoljub Stankic: [Begin recording] At the moment, deputies of the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina are discussing the military-security situation. This part of the assembly meeting is being held behind closed doors.

Before this, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], proposed that the deputies discuss UN Resolution 802 and all other resolutions at the joint session of the assemblies of the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. Koljevic's proposal was unanimously adopted, whereby divisions that dominated the debate have been avoided and one started discussing the next point on the agenda, that is, adopting the decision on a joint assembly.

Taking the floor again, Nikola Koljevic pointed out that we should create a basic institution and in the beginning it would be an association of assemblies [zajednica skupstina]. Pondering about the form of unification, Koljevic pointed out that this should certainly be a form that is possible for the times we are in. He informed the deputies that he had invited Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, presidents of Serbia and Montenegro respectively. We can only profit from their presence when sharing responsibility for the joint decisions we are going to make, Nikola Koljevic pointed out.

The association of assemblies would coordinate laws and adopt regulations (?authorized) by the two assemblies in the sphere of foreign policy, defense and security, zoning, credit-monetary policy, insurance for veterans and the disabled, education, information systems, and so on. A special coordination committee of the two assemblies should propose a ministerial council that would have a chairman, vice chairman, and 16 ministers and their deputies. As was envisaged, the association of assemblies will have 82 deputies from both assemblies. [end recording]

## Krajina Assembly Elects New Government, Premier

*LD2104000993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2212 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Okucani, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Late this evening, the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina elected Djordje Bjegovic as prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina and 12 government ministers. The government was elected with 176 votes for, 10 against, and 14 abstentions.

Milan Martic is minister of internal affairs; Slobodan Jarcevic is minister of foreign affairs. Nebojsa Arbutina was elected minister for economic development and industry. Vojin Peuraca was elected minister of finances; Mitar Brnovic, minister of agriculture and forestry; Radomir Kuzet, minister of justice and administration; Spiro Kostic, minister of health; Milan Knezevic, minister of education; and Milan Tankosic, minister of town planning, housing, and communal services.

Milivoj Kricka was elected minister of energy and mining; Dragica Babic, minister of labor, veterans' issues, and socal welfare; Milomir Crnogorac, minister of transport and communications.

Ministers of defense, information, culture, religion, and sports will subsequently be appointed because consultations are still under way, Prime Minister Bjegovic said. Vice prime ministers will also subsequently be appointed.

The session of the Assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina was concluded with this.

### Krajina Army Commander Discusses Operations

*AU2104044993 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 93 p 3*

[Interview with Major General Mile Novakovic, commander in chief of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Borislav Solesa; place and date not given: “We Are Able to Beat Zagreb, and Take Over Zadar”]

[Excerpts] Having the look of an ascetic and being always in motion, Major General Mile Novakovic, commander in chief of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina, originally from Kordun, performs probably the most dangerous military duty in the world. He is going to demonstrate now the qualities of the head of an army at war. A man of few words, with military strictness toward himself as well as to others, he agreed to give an interview to BORBA early in the morning at a precisely determined time.

[Solesa] Did the Croatian officers, the strategists of the raid carried out on 22 January, surprise you?

[Novakovic] Neither their goal nor tactics surprised us. We repelled the aggression in a timely fashion and implemented measures, as far as our abilities allowed, to prevent further aggression. Otherwise, if we had not acted in that manner, their raid would have achieved the original goal. Given our resistance, we know that not even one-fourth of their goal was achieved.

[Solesa] It is said in Croatia that Knin is remaining intact because the people from Krajina might attack Zagreb.

[Novakovic] We have weapons of such a range, and we have already said that. We have never said that we shall shell Zagreb, but only certain objectives in Zagreb, and as a matter of fact, that applies to all Croatian territory. The time has probably come for some other regions in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia to experience war. It does not have to be only the regions inhabited by Serbs that suffer most, just as it was in World War II. In that case, Croatian behavior would be more appropriate to the situation. [passage omitted]

[Solesa] The Serbian district of Zadar is about to be established. Recently, even the warlord Momcilo Djujic from San Diego has called for taking over Zadar. Is that necessary, realistic, and possible?

[Novakovic] The national structure of Zadar is well-known. Many Serbs and Italians lived there. The accomplishment of concrete goals will depend on the concrete decision made by the leadership of the republic of Serbian Krajina, which our attitude toward Zadar will also depend on. If they make a positive decision, the Serbian army is able to do that, to take Zadar. [passage omitted]

[Solesa] Will the unity with the Bosnian Serbs yield some results, and is that unity possible at all, speaking in military terms?

[Novakovic] We have already conducted some joint operations, whenever it was needed. You are probably acquainted with the actions related to the corridor, and some others, while the actions regarding the Cazin Krajina will also be joint ones. My opinion is that one should not emphasize the formal side of our relations that much, because we are Serbs from both sides of the Drina and Una Rivers and equally endangered by the same enemy. The attitude of the international community toward both our states is absolutely identical. If the situation is already as given, then it is far more important for us to be together, while the formal side is not so important. [passage omitted]

**[Box, p 3]**

**“Serbianhood Is Proven in a Battle”**

[Novakovic] I have never believed, particularly not in the war, that a man is a Serb just because he was born a Serb. Serbianhood is proven in battle. If you firmly hold your gun while fighting against Ustashas, than it is not important what you are by birth. In that respect, I draw no difference among my soldiers.

### Hadzic For Resumption of Talks ‘But Not at All Costs’

*LD2004184993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1551 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Okucani, Krajina, April 20 (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), on Tuesday [20 April] urged a continuation of the quest for peace after Croatia's aggression on the U.N.-protected R.S.K., launched on January 22, and for resuming internationally-mediated talks, but not at all costs.

Addressing the R.S.K. Parliament at Okucani, Hadzic said the Serbs favoured the peaceful option and talks, but that “much has happened (since the latest round of talks), especially the (international community's) tightening of the noose around the entire Serbian nation,” and doubted if U.N. peacekeepers might restore the R.S.K.'s authority over the occupied territories.

“In case (of their failure), we shall be left with the military instead of the negotiation option, although we want to search for a solution by peaceful means as long as there is a chance of finding it, and this the world should understand," said Hadzic.

"In case all democratic options and methods should fail, we shall unite into a single state—unite the R.S.K. and the Bosnian Serb republic—and rally under a single banner," he said.

The R.S.K. was formed in late 1991 in those parts of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where Serbs are the majority population. The Bosnian Serb Republic was proclaimed in 1992 in predominantly Serb-populated parts of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Hadzic said the R.S.K. delegation to Geneva peace talks had not agreed to anything, but had only initialed an agreement, the final decision about which should be made by parliament at its current session.

"The international mediators accepted this and by so doing, whether they wanted it or not, in a way took cognizance of our parliament," said Hadzic.

## Deputy Premier Reportedly Protects Assassin

*AU2104095193 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Apr 93 p 2*

[Report by Norbert Mappes-Niediek: "Zagreb: Did the Deputy Prime Minister Help the Killer?"]

[Text] Zagreb—According to several pieces of information, top-level government bodies in Croatia are supposed to be involved in a political murder, which took place last September. According to a constitutional protection official, one of the killers of prominent trade union official Milan Krivokuca claimed in front of witnesses that he was guilty of the murder and that he was under the protection of Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks.

The official wrote down the minutes of a talk on 15 March, during which the director of the Croatian state railroads and the perpetrator, his assistant, discuss the murder. According to the minutes, the suspected killer said: "I have protection in parliament; Seks supports us."

Milan Krivokuca was stabbed to death by unknown persons at the door of his apartment in a Zagreb suburb in December. So far, police investigations have not yielded any result.

Deputy Prieme Minister Seks, who is responsible for Zagreb's relations with the UN protection forces in Croatia, has reacted to the accusations by filing a complaint for slander, the official's lawyer confirmed.

## Owen Meets Defense Minister Susak in Zagreb

*LD2104092193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia, arrived in Zagreb this morning from Geneva. Shortly after his arrival he met Gojko Susak, defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, at Zagreb airport.

Following these talks, Lord Owen will leave for Belgrade where he will meet Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. [passage omitted]

## Commentary Views Implications of Croat, Muslim Clashes

*AU2104122993 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 93 p 1*

[Commentary by Mario Marusic: "Muslim Plunge Into Catastrophe"]

[Text] In the wake of the Muslims' plunge into catastrophe under the political leadership of people who are utterly incapable of discerning the real enemy, and in the wake of the latest attacks by units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Croatian people near Travnik in central Bosnia—in which dozens of members of the Croatian defense council and ethnic Croatian civilians lost their lives—as well as in northern Herzegovina, it is clear that those who are considered a reasonable leadership have lost control over many things. Namely, a faction within the Muslim ranks that is pro-Yugoslav, pro-KOS [the counter-intelligence service of former Yugoslavia] and fundamentalist is taking more and more power.

A unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina is only a stage in the implementation of the crazy plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a part of Yugoslavia, and the Muslim leaders are either denying the existence of the plan or signing agreements such as Sunday's [18 April] between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Mate Boban, president of the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia.

All that can be concluded from reports from some sources completely exposes the entire tragedy of the Muslim hardliners who are not offering resistance to the Serbian chetnik invasion but are attacking the Croats. Attacks on Croats at a time when negotiations are being held with the Serbs about the surrender of Srebrenica and some other regions of geopolitical and strategic significance show the full efficacy and real intentions of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather its command and some people in the top leadership of the Party of Democratic Action. Do the Muslims want some new Yugoslavia or some third variant?

This hiding behind the mujahidin and various kinds of Muslim extremists can hardly be tolerated any longer and it is obvious that in their search for identity the Muslims are ignoring all morality and even the logic of their own survival.

Their increasingly frequent moaning for the arms embargo to be lifted inevitably leads one to wonder who these arms would be used against. After all that has happened, certainly all sorts of things can be expected in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Namely, if during such, one might even say fatal, times in which Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state has found itself, not only is an alliance with Bosnia-Herzegovina's Croats rejected, but even brutal, murderous attacks are carried out against them, what would happen if Sefer's [Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces] fighters received new weapons?

## Italian 'Threat' on Minority Issues Discussed

*93BA0893A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 93 pp 46-47*

[Article by Josip Sentija: "One Community—Two States?"]

[Text]*Croatia is in a quandary, but it cannot and should not turn a deaf ear to the arrogant messages coming from Rome.*

One integral and indivisible ethnic community in two sovereign states—what does that mean? According to statements coming from Rijeka and Istria, that is supposed to be the current political program of the Italian Union for Croatia and Slovenia, as that association calls itself. Representatives of the association have announced that the Union will "support making the instruments of 'post-Eighth Congress' agreements bilateral (and) parallel, simultaneous and coordinated agreements, which will allow for integral intervention in the problem of protecting the Italian ethnic group in Croatia and Slovenia" (P. Radin, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, 18 March 1993, p 40). In other words, the representatives of the Italian ethnic community in the territory of the former Yugoslav state have decided to keep the structure, procedures, territorial scope, and goals of their association the same as they were defined and effected before the breakup of that state. Thus, with regard to the status of their organization, they overlook the fact that two new states have been created on the ruins of the Yugoslav state, whose constitutional independence is internationally recognized. "One ethnic community in two sovereign states"—a seemingly simple and effective slogan. Almost as if they want to say, "All Italians in one... community!" Such as it is, however, this slogan expresses the whole gamut of political, interest-based, moral, and other viewpoints of its definers toward the reality that emerged with the collapse of the unified Yugoslav state. The most succinct thing that can be said about it is that the Italians are completely ignoring the new constitutional situation in the areas where they live, or they consider it fictitious. Either way, it is inappropriate.

Viewed historically, the Italian ethnic group in Croatia shared in all regards the fate of the Croatia that emerged from World War II: the clash between antifascism and fascism, suffering during and after the war, the exodus of Croats from Bosnia and Croatia and of Italians and Croats from Istria, which was joined to Croatia, and then the common social and economic chronicle in socialism and the Yugoslav state, centralized or federalized, whichever the case. History will impartially judge what it was like for Croats and Italians in that state. But one thing is clear: In that Croatia, a member of the Yugoslav federation, the Italian ethnic community solved its problems in Croatia, in political and all other contacts primarily with Zagreb, not with Belgrade, with the local Croatian authorities, no matter how limited they were by Yugoslav sovereignty.

In socialist Croatia, the Italian ethnic community also had its own representatives in the Assembly and in all bodies that considered and made decisions on the position of ethnic groups in Croatia. According to the standardization of nationalities at the time (which was a more democratic and just designation than the current arithmetically cold-hearted designation "minority"), the Italian ethnic group was the smallest in numerical terms, but it received proportionally greater funding from the state budget (from various funds) than any other group. There were many reasons for this, but the main one was that the social and cultural life and needs of Italians in Croatia were more developed and in demand, so that even socialist politics respected them: a radio program, a theater, schools, daily newspapers, journals, publishing activities. Nowhere in the world has an ethnic community of this size (20,000 to 30,000 people) enjoyed (and still enjoys today!) so much support by its mother state and by the people with whom it lives as the Italian ethnic community in Croatia has enjoyed. Of course, there have been a number of unresolved problems, unmet demands, and natural expectations by Italians who are Croatian nationals, and they are still present today. Thus, when updating the problems of the Italian ethnic community in Croatia in terms of the completely new internal and international circumstances, the first thing that should be done is to take an objective inventory of all aspects of the position of members of that community in Croatia, all of its social problems and long-term hopes. This should be done together by Croatian authorities and representatives of the Italian ethnic community.

Perhaps this can be worked on, we hope, with complete goodwill on both sides. The Croatian authorities (perhaps the government, or the Assembly) should sanction a detailed program of affirmation of the Italian ethnic community in Croatia. I prefer to use the term affirmation instead of protection, because the latter term has been compromised and in fact does not suit the essence of the problem, at least with regard to Italians in Croatia. I do not see any threat to them that means that they should be "protected." But we must all acknowledge that all around the world the treatment of ethnic groups as "minorities" is to a certain extent unjust. M. Qadhafi is right when he says in his "Third World Theory" that "the approach to minorities from an economic and political viewpoint is dictatorship and injustice." The more mature socialist tradition has acted more liberally and humanely on this question than liberal democracy has. Ultimately, the very sense of minority status engenders a certain ideology of "threat," and this almost always leads to some form of irredentism, which led Serbs in Croatia to wage war against their own homeland, to their and the Croats' immediate and long-term disadvantage. Thus, I am in favor of a consistent and clearly programmed affirmation of the Italian ethnic group in Croatia, the sort of affirmation upon which Croatia could pride itself throughout the world. To be better than what Italy itself offers the Austrians in South Tirol and the French in Val d'Aosta, or what France offers the Italians in Nice and vicinity.

I maintain that under the new circumstances it is reasonable to expect that the Slovene authorities and Italians in Slovenia are attending to the affirmation of Italians in Slovenia. The Slovenes are right when they refuse to join with Croatia on this issue. It is one thing to freely decide to cooperate within the framework of the sovereign jurisdictions of Croatia, Slovenia, and, of course, Italy, but it is another thing to feign, or even impose, some sort of new political-legal coalition between Croatia and Slovenia as a substitute for the collapsed unitary partner (with whom, in fact, problems were not really solved). It is one thing to demand free passage across state borders, in all directions, according to European standards, to demand that all old and new property problems be resolved according to justice, laws, and international agreements, strictly according to the principle of pacta sunt servanda—but it is another thing to act on the basis of the presumption that everything on this side of the Soca and Milje is the same as it was until recently. I am inclined to believe that defining this presumption as the basic starting point of the Italian Union's program reflects pure nonchalance, inertia, and a lack of desire to formally establish and defend the interests of the Italian ethnic community in Croatia within the framework of the new constitutional order, meaning the jurisdictional framework of the Republic of Croatia. It is up to these authorities (which must reflect the will of Italians in Croatia) alone to decide whether they want bilateral or multilateral talks, negotiations or agreements.

In the overall situation, a new element is the pressure coming from Rome, which is literally compelling Croatia to revise the Eighth Congress Agreements, and even to sanction the Italian position that they are consummated, and then, within the framework of "post-Eighth Congress" agreements, to approve "integral, simultaneous, and coordinated solutions" for "protection" of the Italian ethnic group in the entire territory of the former Yugoslav state. In this regard, we have heard two incredibly arrogant messages from Rome directed at Croatia: Watch out what kind of law on denationalization you pass in the Croatia, because otherwise.... And the second message: If you do not consider the interests of the Italian side, Italy will oppose the inclusion of Croatia in a common Europe! Through these messages, Farnesina has shown the Croatian authorities not its index finger, but rather a switch. An example of diplomatic coercion for every complaint, Croatia is in a quandary, a great and terrible quandary. But it cannot and should not turn a deaf ear to these arrogant messages. Their significance must be stated clearly: They are an expression of a policy of diplomatic coercion, which is taking advantage of the Croatian quandary.

On the other hand, these messages are also clear allusions and signs that a policy of outside opinions is in fact being pursued against Croatia. But representatives of the Italian Union should not turn a deaf ear to that policy either, for the sake of their community's interests and for the sake of Croatia, in the end. It seems to me that this program slogan—"one community in two sovereign states"—is not the way to achieve goals acceptable to all sides. Indeed, in a sense it is coordinating with the unsound—and I would even say worrisome—policy of outside opinions, which are formulated and expressed by certain Italian political circles in Farnesina and beyond.

No, the slogan "all Italians in one community" is not a good program slogan for anyone, and is an inadequate program response to the situation that has radically changed east of Trieste.

## Russia's 'Poor Level' of Information Analyzed

*93BA0893B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 93 pp 42-43*

[Interview with Russian journalist Boris Sergeyevich Grishchenko by Lidia Cerni; date and place not given: "Russians Are Not Supporting Serbs"]

[Text] There is a poor level of information in Russia about the war in Croatia, and what there is is not the real picture, because most of the information is circulated by Belgrade.

Boris Sergeyevich Grishchenko is a journalist and one of the cofounders of the independent press agency INTERFAX, which supports liberal and democratic views in Russia. The very influential agency, which is completely independent both financially and politically, began to emerge, as far as we in Croatia remember, with its reports from the Baltic countries during their drives for political independence. Its news coverage extends to the former Soviet Union, but also to agencies accredited in Russia that have their own reporter bureau in Moscow, and it sells its news outside Russia based on free-market principles. Since the agency is financed exclusively by the sale of information, all the agency's profit considerations are very simple. INTERFAX also has its own publications, bulletins, weeklies, and dailies. After 25 years as a political commentator for TASS, Boris Sergeyevich decided three years ago to embark on a separate, independent journalistic course, and with like-minded colleagues he accepted a new professional challenge—INTERFAX.

"Our information is expensive, and we sell it exclusively for hard currency. The only exception here is television, which pays for our services in local currency," says Grishchenko. "I must say that we have used materials from U.S. and French colleagues when we discuss the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has helped us to be independent of both politics and the state."

[Cerni] Speaking of the media, of its freedom or democratization after communist repression, tell us what the media situation is like in Russia.

[Grishchenko] I can say that after the fall of communism we had around two years of "honeymoon," so to speak, in the media. After that, everyone began fighting, struggling for influence in the media, from the president, parliament, political parties, fledgling businessmen, etc. There are frequent attempts to separate journalists from information at any price. For example, some journalists are allowed into cabinet meetings even though they are very boring, so that you have the opportunity to film some deputy sleeping or even reading the newspaper during a meeting, and then a big furor is raised about how it is possible for that to be shown to viewers without being censored. Every branch of government in Russia is trying to come up with some "law on the press," and generally speaking the situation in our media cannot be considered normal. There is a big battle going on for free media space.

[Cerni] There is a great deal of polarity in relations between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, a major political struggle between the president and parliament. How does this manifest itself or influence the media themselves?

[Grishchenko] There are two basic centers of power in Russia. On the one side, as you know, is President Yeltsin, and on the other side is the postcommunist parliament. Parliament is a strong and powerful communist center. With Yeltsin, there are no specific demands toward the press and the media in general, he is rather tolerant, he does not have a brusque attitude toward journalists, and even if he does not comprehend or understand something he never asks that a story be written as he would like and he does not take vengeance on someone if they write something against him. For example, when parliament launched a strong attack against the independent newspaper house IZVESTIYA, the president issued an edict to keep that newspaper independent, even though that newspaper has not always been exactly sympathetic in what it has written about him. Our press and journalism in general has plenty of misconceptions about democracy and, likewise, about the style of writing in it. There are major relapses to the communist way of thinking, communist censorship, so that journalists have viewed the current situation as an opportunity to write things without preserving the basic dignity of the profession; they have viewed this as meaning that they can write whatever they want, without verifying their sources. Thus, there are some journalists who are behaving like hooligans in their approach to information, behaving in a way that is unbecoming to their profession and to the situation in which they find themselves.

[Cerni] Speaking of news coverage in Russia, why is there no information from Croatia, objective information, or rather why is Russian news coverage of the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina provided exclusively by Serbia? I think that it is all uniform information, and moreover tendentious, insolent information. Unfortunately, such is the situation in our country: All the tools of information have remained in Belgrade's hands. The man on the street in Russia does not analyze the information that he gets, he simply consumes it.

[Grishchenko] I wanted to come here to see what is actually going on here, because I have been unable to learn this from reports by journalists, or rather by the press agencies that deal with us. Now imagine the average Russian and how he can know who is who in this war, or rather who is fighting whom. You must know that in our country, in the former Soviet Union, there are several civil wars going on, and images of wartime horrors, burned-out houses, and dead people have become an everyday thing in the Russian media, so it is no longer easy for the average person to distinguish which pictures came from what war, from yours or from Karabakh. Over the past three years there has been an abundance of such images, and the resistance of the average Russian viewer to images of war has become great. I can tell you frankly that as far as the majority of Russian viewers are concerned, they know little about the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Cerni] But what about you journalists, you could certainly get your hands on accurate information....

[Grishchenko] The same is true of journalists. Only journalists who deal with this region know more or less what is going on here, i.e., who the aggressor is in this war and who is defending himself. You know, anyone who really wants to know what is happening here in your country will find out; that is always the case. We are an increasingly isolated country in terms of outside information. What I mean is that Russians are increasingly concerned with their own problems and satiated with information, especially the kind served up to them....

[Cerni] Still, why information only from Serbia? Is it because Croatia itself has not done enough to be present in the Russian media or because Serbia has been waging an aggressive media war, or...?

[Grishchenko] I think that there is a great deal of inertia inherited from the previous system. Belgrade was the metropolis, the center of politics and news in the former Yugoslavia, just as Moscow was that type of center in the former Soviet Union, and that is a relapse. As we know, in the communist society whatever Moscow or Belgrade said was relied upon and respected; who cared about what some city in the interior of the Soviet Union thought about such and such political event? In a certain sense, Serbian circles are traditionally linked to Russian intellectual and journalistic circles. Even if Russians had the opportunity to choose, or rather balance information, i.e., if they could objectively choose between two different pieces of information coming in from your region, believe me, I am convinced that they would choose the side that is fighting for justice, humanity, and humanism. That is why the charge that we are committed to the Serbian cause in this conflict is not accurate. I do not know all the details about that conflict, despite the fact that I am a journalist and that I have now spent six days in Croatia, so now you can only imagine how the average Russian reader or viewer can judge this conflict.

[Cerni] In connection with the so-called traditional ties between Serbia and Russia, there is a trend emerging toward a new—or in fact, old—alliance within the Orthodox-communist community, meaning an alliance between Belgrade and Moscow, or even beyond.

[Grishchenko] I must say right away that as far as the average Russian is concerned there is no thinking whatsoever along the lines of odious Catholicism and cherished Orthodoxy in this conflict of yours. I am certain that the average Russian thinks that everyone in the former Yugoslavia is Catholic! The young people who are volunteering and fighting on the Serbian side in this war do not even known for whose cause they are in fact fighting; they are just like volunteer-mercenaries everywhere. They kill for money because they are mercenaries. But we cannot say that there are strong political forces in Russia behind them who also have influence. It is true that there are political forces in Russia that are endeavoring to score points for themselves from this war of yours, or rather to use this conflict for their own political gain, so that they depict these volunteers as warriors for holy Orthodoxy. Their roots are in parliament, and they are trying to establish certain views in Russia in connection with the war in the ex-Yugoslavia, and together with bad information and tools from Belgrade to create the false image that exists in Russia, and that is very dangerous.

[Cerni] Which newspapers support this pro-Serbian line?

[Grishchenko] There are four or five of them that are explicitly biased toward the Serbian side. They are PRAVDA most of all, and then SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA, DEN, a very tendentious publication, and then CRVENO I SMEDJE, an explicitly profascist newspaper. Admittedly, there are not many of them, but they have plenty of influence.

[Cerni] You have been in Croatia for six days and visited several war zones. What are your impressions?

[Grishchenko] As an average television viewer, I acquired a certain animosity toward the war. I detest all war. Here, in your country, I had the opportunity to experience all of this, and what I saw was horrible. As a journalist I have seen many wars, I was in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Laos, and Africa, but this war is horrible because it is being waged in Europe, and that is a big difference. I was most impressed in your country by your patience and optimism, despite the major difficulties that you are experiencing. Your people are certain that they will win in the end; the nation has been consolidated, and the prevalent spirit is one of optimism.

I saw the refugee centers in Gasinci and Zaton and all the suffering of those people, and I have a great deal of respect for your government, which has cared for all these refugees and which treats them all equally, first and foremost as people. In the course of our conversations with journalist colleagues, we heard about their experience as reporters at the front lines, and that elicited from us a great deal of esteem. We were also in Maslenica very briefly and saw what the people there have to contend with. I think that your journalists are very objective and professional. In talking with colleagues in Croatia, we realized the kinds of problems that you are encountering on your road to democracy. I am convinced that when a nation wants independence, there is no force that can stop that. Unfortunately, I cannot say anything about the Croatian media because I have not been here long enough.

## Belgrade Weekly Examines Croatian Press Freedoms

*93BA0864A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 p 35*

[Article by Brankica Mikic: "Government Theft"]

[Text] On the news program "Scenes Through Pictures," broadcast 14 March 1993 over Croatian TV, two diametrically opposed opinions were expressed on the degree of freedom in the Croatian media. Asked to comment on Croatian media space, President Tudjman said this: "Compared to the countries of the former Eastern bloc and with the states that have arisen on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there is no question that the freedom of the media is greatest in Croatia." Aidan White, chief secretary of the International Federation of Journalists, had quite the opposite opinion, declaring briefly: "We have visited all the former socialist countries and nowhere did we encounter so many problems as in Croatia. The situation in the Croatian media is disastrous!"

### Triumph

The Saturday edition of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (13 March 1993), whose publication marked the end of the strike of 100 or so employees of this prestigious Croatian daily, ended once and for all the dispute between the journalists and the so-called Board of Directors of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, in which the victory, of course, was won by the Board of Directors, more precisely put—the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]. This at the same time rounded out completely the process of nationalization of all the media in Croatia, because SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is independent journalism's last line of defense, and for a long time now has been its only one.

Faced with the determined and omnipotent HDZ, the persistent struggle over several months by the employees, in accordance with the law, to become owners of the paper which they created and on which they worked, proved futile, as did the presentation of evidence on unlawful transformation and the alerting of the domestic and international public and the numerous letters from individuals, intellectuals, and associations and organizations in the field of journalism, whose purpose is to protect the freedom of the media, sent to President Tudjman and to the government of the Republic of Croatia, demanding that they prevent the forcible nationalization of that newspaper. In one article devoted to this issue (SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, 6 February 1993), Drago Buvac, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent in Brussels (a post that no longer exists in the new SLOBODNA DALMACIJA), found bitter amusement in these letters and said that what is happening to SLOBODNA is well-known to Tudjman and "taking place according to his scenario or at least according to the precise logic of the system he is creating."

### The Darkness

Today, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is a newspaper 70 percent of whose ownership is in the hands of the state, which means that it is in the hands of that famous joint stock company—the Board of Directors. The entire editorial board has been replaced, and the loyal Dino Mikulandra has been appointed editor in chief instead of the recalcitrant Josko Kulusic. A number of journalists, mostly the better ones, have received pink slips, and some of them do not even want to write when they are cramped within the rigid limits of journalism in the "interest of the state." SLOBODNA DALMACIJA has also been deprived of its legendary FERAL TRIBJUNA, the "satirical supplement" and subtlest critic of what is wrong in Croatian society. In Croatia, no one any longer laughs in public.

With the disappearance of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, with its "transformation," of which those employed on this paper say that it was an "outright steal by the government and a coup d'etat," Croatia has found itself in a complete media darkness. All the lights have been extinguished. The murmur of protests from the public has been quieted. Goebbels is already on the stage; the monodrama can begin.

## Serbia

### SPS Official Skeptical About All-Serbian Assembly

*AU2004203893 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 93 p 7*

["Z.S."-signed report: "Percevic Against All-Serbian Assembly"]

[Text] Novi Sad—It is not clear at this time what kind of consequences such an assembly could have and what kind of decisions an all-Serbian assembly could make. This was stated by Goran Percevic, vice president of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, presenting the view of the party in Novi Sad the day before yesterday on the idea that came from Pale and Knin. He said that clear national interests have currently been defined and that a consensus on them more or less exists among all legitimate representatives of the Serbian people.

He substantiated his view by saying that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has clearly stated that it has no territorial pretensions toward the former Yugoslav republics. Regarding its stand on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the three constituent peoples should find an agreement among themselves. Concerning the territories under UN protection, Percevic holds the view that the mandate of the blue helmets should be extended and that this issue should be decided on at a referendum of the people living there.

He concluded that such an assembly could perhaps help those who are trying to present Serbia—that is Yugoslavia—as an aggressor and who are making erroneous assertions that we have such aspirations, that we are trying to create a greater Serbia. Our principled stands are clear. One should also bear in mind the Vance-Owen peace plan, which has essentially been accepted, although we expect some improvements in it, Percevic said.

### Serbia Nearing 'Mass Poverty'

*93BA0740C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 93 p 10*

[Article by Mila Jankovic: "Life Below the Line"]

[Text] *Serbia is on the threshold of mass poverty. If the folks saying to the effect that you know the day from the morning is correct, then it is easy to see how we will live in the month that has just begun. According to the most recent calculations, more than 4 million people in Serbia currently live "below the line," and this figure grows from one day to the next, and it is not inappropriate to assume that spring may bring social unrest along with nice weather.*

The average family of four has long been living below any average. The most recently published cost of the consumer goods basket (in which only "200 grams of ham" may be regarded as a luxury item) is very near 130,000 dinars, and there are 31 days in this month. Of course, the basket does not include other expenses like television subscription fees, rent and utilities, and clothing. Precisely the latest electric light bills (with the most recent 140 percent increase) have stunned even the minority of the population that has not (yet) reached the bottom in life. And what are we to say about the latest cost of day care, which comes to 250,000 dinars per child this month, and what about meals in school, whose cost reaches into the realm of science fiction for the parents of school children. Three meals (breakfast, snack, lunch) cost around 300,000 dinars. For the most part this figure may be doubled to reflect the cost for the children of the average family. According to Nada Rajakovic, director of the Branko Radicevic elementary school in Belgrade, the division of children into those who eat and those who watch others eat has become unbearable for educational personnel. The office of the Municipal Secretary for Health Care and General and Child Welfare has tried to alleviate the situation somewhat by paying for one meal (lunch) for children of socially endangered families and refugees.

"However," says Ms. Rajakovic, "the city has determined its own cost, and the city-run kitchens have theirs, which of course is always higher than the money we receive. We are in a very difficult position now, because there is no way for us to make up the cost difference, and of course the children must eat until we come up with a solution."

#### A Frame for the "Labor Market" Picture

However, even the term "socially endangered" has now become inappropriate. According to recent estimates there are (officially) around 63,800 families in this classification, or about 145,200 persons, but at least 90 percent of retirees also live at their level. The best indication of this is the fact that only 2 percent (of the approximately 1.2 million retirees) received checks in February higher than the lowest established cost of labor (460,000 dinars). Even with the most recent increase, obtained literally by begging, as retiree organization representatives point out, there is no hope for improvement, because the increase will be "eaten up" every 10 days unless prices are stabilized.

In any event, the most difficult situation is that of those from whom even God has taken away his helping hand, as those in direct contact with the situation are used to saying. It is a question of the unemployed, most of whom have no prospect whatever of earning a loaf of bread in the foreseeable future. The figures of the Employment Market Bureau indicate that there are as many as 32 unemployed persons for every job vacancy, not counting territorial, vocational, and economic sector differences. In addition, authoritative sources expect employment to drop another 6 percent this year. The outlook of the unemployed becomes even clearer when the fact is added that (according to the latest studies) there is a surplus of around one-fourth worker even among the employed. The personal files of persons looking for work reveal that around 70 percent of the more than 700,000 unemployed have no income whatever. Of the others, 36,000 persons are entitled to so-called cash benefits, 9,000 have disability pension insurance, and 42,700 are entitled to material family support. Of course, the employment picture would be even bleaker were it not for certain government programs. According to Nikola Ristivojevic, director of Serbia's Employment Market Bureau, the government has issued regulations halting mass dismissal of workers, technological surpluses, and other surpluses as long as the sanctions are still applied by the world community. The "involuntary vacation" practice, according to the figures of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, has nevertheless led to the dismissal of more than 750,000 workers from their jobs. These workers may be assumed to be social welfare cases, just as are around 70 percent of those who are lucky enough to be still employed but do not earn enough even for subsistence.

### How To Make Magic "Nail Soup"

How do people manage to survive despite everything?

In a previous interview with BORBA, Dr. Luka Todorovic, director of the Institute of Social Policy in Belgrade, stated that people have shown how amazing human resourcefulness is and how everyone comes up with a solution somehow. But this assumption is as it were slowly melting with the last February snow. The usually modest foreign currency reserves have been slowly depleted, everything has been sold that could be sold, and the magic "nail soup" of the fable cannot be made with just a "nail."

"This life of mine is no life," says Mirjana T., a typist and mother of two secondary school children. "In the best case we have meat a total of two times a month, in small amounts. We never go out, and I have forgotten what it is like to buy something new to wear. But the most difficult thing for me is taking care of the children, for whom I cannot buy anything extra, not even an ordinary pair of slippers. And naturally they would like to get something, just like children everywhere." Her neighbor Dragica Z. transferred to the Employment Office nursery when her Electronic Industry factory in Zemun went bankrupt two years ago. With modest financial assistance and temporary jobs cleaning apartments and sweeping stairs, together with her husband's pay, she most often cooks beans and cabbage. She plays the culinary magician, manages and stretches, and so feeds her family.

"No one cares about us," she says, disappointed. "I have tried everything. The only thing I have not done is take food from a public kitchen, and it is very doubtful that I could even get a pass to one" (because there are more serious cases).

To be truthful, the situation is alleviated somewhat by numerous humanitarian organizations and by people of good will with deep pockets. There is in Serbia a large number of solidarity foundations and similar "humanitarian aid associations," but this entire action to help the most greatly threatened members of the population is far from being united and coordinated so that it can function effectively. All these divided institutions should, I believe, be united in the Beobanka [Belgrade Bank] (which has a fund of its own to help the poor) at one level so that there would be precise knowledge of the flow of funds and there would always be feedback indicating how funds have been spent and to whom they have gone. Thus, embezzlement often happens when there is no insight into a situation, and a person who gives wants to know how his money is spent. I also think that a large percentage of affluent citizens and businesses have not reached into their wallets at all in the Beobanka. However, people and social humanitarian institutions for the most part turn to the same donors to whom they have grown accustomed, knowing in advance that they will not be refused. But when a single humanitarian association keeps giving, we must remember that its resources are limited.

## Citizens Faced With Bread Shortage

*93BA0470A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 9*

[Article by Slobodan Reljic: "A Bread Tree for Hanging"]

[Text] *Still alive, not abducted, and not taken off "in an unknown direction," the citizen of the FRY is facing one of the most terrifying things, a shortage of bread. What is the news of a group of travelers disappearing compared to this situation? When there is no bread, all policies, government and opposition, economic and social—and national as well, are dead. They are merely empty words.*

What happened when it was reported that 30 travelers were abducted on a main thoroughfare in this country?

The electronic media delayed a whole day before reporting the event, and newspapers two days. TANJUG reported that even 24 hours later "there were no official discussions at the MUP [Ministry of the Interior] of Serbia," as if in such discussions ministry employees, train guards, had not been informed at all of the attack on the train and the abductions, and as if it had not been reported a day earlier that "Interior Minister Zoran Sokolovic and his associates had informed the prime minister of a plan of measures to be adopted *immediately* (my italics—S.R.), along with ongoing implementation of intensified measures for prevention, detection, and punishment of criminal activities." What a scandal! Scandal is the only suitable word in this context. In any well-developed country the public would normally demand resignations. Every citizen would be deeply shaken and the government would be shaken by the accumulation of this horror.

There is nothing of that here. Alive, not abducted, and not taken off "in an unknown direction," the Serbian citizen had already lived through a week before this event occurred in which he was faced with the most horrible thing, a shortage of bread. What is a report of 30 persons disappearing compared to confronting this realization? Regardless of how unpleasant the thought is of what I intend to say, this arouses "inhumane darwinism" in the human mind: The fewer there are of us, the more bread there will be.

The prime minister who guaranteed that "Serbia will not go hungry" is now chairman of a council "of the highest organ of power" of the FRY. The new regulation on approval of the prices of certain products and services was issued by a man who was in the Radoman government. However—and we have forgotten this—even he does not remember. It was a different time.

And the next day, because Mr. Sainovic issued the regulation and because the government "acceded to bakers' demands," there was no bread in the grocery stores. A loaf of the most popular "Sava" bread will cost 2,367 dinars, according to newspapers. Locally the situation was like this: "Ten meatballs with cream, with bread, lettuce, and cold beer, 5,000," one person says. This is cheap. "Where can you get it?" asks someone else. "Nowhere, but it sounds good." Neither the "most popular" nor the "wheat" variety was available in grocery stores, either in Nis, Pristina, or Belgrade. Serbia without bread! Largish rolls called "small rolls" costing the same as the standard-size rolls made their appearance. After the big words, then, "the iron law of economics" is doing its work. The logic of money tramples all shining ideals and patriotic agreements in the mud. Goods are not sold for good domestic currency but for German marks [DM] issued by the odious German government. Even recently this logic has exceeded anything that anyone could possibly dream about. "Yugoslavia has become an exporter of gasoline." The reality is like a bad dream from which we will awaken sweating and in fear. "A private firm... having no incentive to sell a liter of gasoline here for one-half mark... has decided to sell the commodity to a company not from the FRY." But for this reality to differ enough from a bad dream, we have to believe that this gasoline was not exported to Croatia.

And the myth about bread has been dispelled. Hunger is appearing as a reality to Serbs. And with inflation of probably 30 million percent in the offing, the subsistence minimum established as early as the time of the ancient Romans, when it was stated that citizens could do without anything except "bread and games," has been done away with. It is hard to believe that Serbs will manage to defy even this "law of gravity" of social relationships, but this possibility is not to be rejected.

Nor should it be doubted that loud speeches delivered in the appropriate places will proclaim that there will be no hunger here and now "even without bread." Of all things, just such an announcement was made recently by the Serbian government. Vice President Srboljub Vasovic informed Serbs that the government "will exert efforts in two directions, that of providing *enough food* to feed the population and that of economically strengthening farmers and the countryside." In connection with diesel fuel the announcement states that "*superhuman efforts* are being exerted to overcome all obstacles." Absolutely! And the government will "try to import *maximum* amounts of fertilizer."

What a lot of big words, all said for fear that the Sultan's non-Muslim subjects might remember the verses so persistently drilled into us: "Bread, bread, master, give us bread; these many days we've had no bread."

All policies die when there is no bread, those both of the governing party and of the opposition, economic, social, and national. They are all nothing but empty words. Nor will there be any help from collection of tax by the tax collectors without whips and "savage roars" and printing of worthless paper at the Topcider. The refinement of the method ceases to be of importance here. Regardless of how it has arrived at its condition, an empty stomach simply demands its own.

People are living "on forced vacation," suffering, and hoping. But there is less reason for hope every day. The struggle for bread is the ultimate question. There are no good explanations for it. Only radical solutions remain.

The people feel it already. There immediately comes to mind here the so notorious wisdom of Prince Milos. But who will take the step is one question, and an even harder one is that of what is still to be allowed to pass. In a live television broadcast, viewers were extremely pleased by Vuk Draskovic's demand that force should be answered with force. Does the fact that the majority of those who have expressed their opinion did not want to appear on camera also give authority to those who consider this a dangerous statement?

Exercise of the so-called democratic option, that is, without bread, is becoming less and less attractive. Of course, it must not be immediately inferred from the television broadcast in question that Vuk [Wolf], who has been "changing state for two years now" and has reverted to his "state as wolf," currently has the best prospects. These games are unpredictable. Possibly the fastest to swim in these waters will be the absolute champions of our political competitions over the last five years. Nor must we entirely reject the military leader who is now so horribly tormented by the revenue question. And it is entirely possible that some new fellow will appear who will arrive from the dirty slums, where, unemployed, steadfastly studying pain, poverty, and hunger—will know what magic words the oppressed, the exposed, the deprived are waiting for.

Everything is falling apart. As much as the composition of the federal government is necessary, to that extent does it also seem to be pointless. What decisions will be made by a body in which the most important position, aside from chief of police, appears to be that of newspaper printing company supervisor? No one gives any thought to agriculture and industry. Bread apparently will not be the government's most serious concern; the

January minimum wage was only DM37. But the wonder of wonders is not the fact that "many businesses not only have no money for timely payment of the amounts in question, but do not have personnel for payment of wages calculated at rates even lower than those officially proclaimed." The February minimum wage, in one of the countries of Europe in which living is the most expensive, will be "much lower than DM37."

Words lose all meaning in such a situation.

## Spring Sowing Threatened by Shortages

*93BA0897A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 pp 12-13*

[Article by Predrag Ursic: "Agriculture: Panonija Like the Sahara"]

[Text] *Insufficient quantities of fuel, fertilizer, and chemical and financial resources are threatening spring work; Information on the realization of the government program for the spring sowing nevertheless adopted in the Republic Assembly; Food balances threatened despite official denials.*

The Sahara is the largest desert in the world, although it lies on huge quantities of underground diluvial water. The hot sun, little rainfall, and the absence of an effective irrigation system have not turned the Panonijan, Macvanka, and Pomorava fields into a desert; however, this does not mean that current politics will not do this soon.

In truth, last year's drought significantly served to make yields of basic growing cultures and their reserves, which were supposed to be used this year, 20 to 30 percent lower, but one should not forget that a cost was paid both in terms of a low technological level and a shortening of optimal agro-technical seasons which characterized both last year's sowing and that of the year before last, which were also especially affected by war in areas of the former Yugoslavia and by the sanctions of the EC and, next, the UN Security Council.

Despite this, the production and surpluses realized in the record 1991 fertile year have made possible the availability at the beginning of this year of 600,000 tons of corn more than is necessary for satisfying total yearly consumption, as well as a surplus of 30,000 tons of sugar and 40,000 tons of edible oil, in addition to an adequate quantity of wheat. However, shortages of bread, flour, sugar, and oil had already developed at the beginning of this year. Consumers in such a market obviously do not benefit much from the fact that of all European countries, precisely theirs has the most agricultural land per capita of inhabitant (0.61 hectares).

Although a situation in which the "European breadbasket" is faced with a problem of supplying bread that is greater than they have, for example, in the western Sahara already seems disastrous and shameful enough, the picture can quickly become still more dramatic. Specifically, with the possible exception of selected seed, not a single factor has been assured for initiating the planting of basic growing cultures, the harvesting of wheat sown in the fall, and other spring tasks.

What will Sainovic's government do in this short remaining time in coordination with the federal government, and is it in a position at all to eliminate the causes that could literally lead to hunger, are questions to which even the representatives in the republic assembly on 11 March could not obtain a convincing answer.

The dog barks... The program of measures for carrying out spring sowing, which the government of the Republic of Serbia adopted only in January, can basically be broken down into four points. First, allocating the necessary amount of funds from primary issuance; second, assuring a balance of consolidated quantities of diesel fuel and its distribution; third, providing the necessary components for production of chemical fertilizer and its inclusion in a program of selective granting of credits from funds of primary issuance and, fourth, determining real parity in the prices of agricultural products and the prices of production materials.

Information on what has been done with the aim of carrying out these tasks was presented to representatives of the Serbian parliament by Jan Kisgeci, republic minister for agriculture. "The government's information was given the way the report of Mr. Sainovic was compiled when he represented his government—it is so generalized that it cannot be criticized at all. Because, who will not agree that work must be done on the parity of prices, that credits must be given, etc."—the assessment of representative Predrag Simonovic can be called appropriate.

The coupons for fuel have been printed, in fact, but "tractors don't run on coupons," commented Jozef Kasa on the shortage of diesel fuel. The big question is whether it will be available in a quantity of 100 million liters, which is estimated to be necessary by the end of May. In addition to that, the recent discoveries that even the ministers are not immune to the challenge of enriching themselves enormously in suspicious dealings with petroleum remind us that the distribution of even assured quantities of fuel will represent an extremely delicate task, regardless of whether it is for the attendants at "Beopetrolovim" or specialized pumps. Even if Kisgeci indeed sends his 900 inspectors "to the field," as he promised the representatives.

The situation is similar with chemical fertilizer. On 8 March "Azotara" in Pancevo finally began working—thanks to the decision of major Vojvodina consumers to switch from gas. When ammonia is provided to factories in Sabac, Prahovo, Novi Sad, and Subotica, achieving total production of 200,000 tons of fertilizer, or a third of the originally planned quantity, will be considered a success. An exceptional dependence on imports (85 percent) in domestic production of "chemical," warn agronomists, will be paid by farmers with a noticeable drop in yields. But also with significant sums of money. Although the government could, through the Office for Commodity Reserves and through the Collective Alliance, carry out the distribution of fertilizer to end users based on a price equal to the price of wheat when KAN [fertilizer] is in question, or at a parity of 1:1.6 for urea and 1:1.7 for NPK [fertilizer], it is highly improbable that producers can easily part with 150 dollars per ton of KAN, 200 for NPK, and 220 dollars per ton of urea—a price that they consider the only realistic one. "Private truckers are already waiting in front of the factories-...Several thousand marks are being paid for a place in line," warned the otherwise rarely serious Radovan Radovic.

Of the 30,000 tons of necessary protective resources, only a tenth has been provided. The greatest part of the raw materials for their production, 10 million dollars worth, came from imports. "I think even that's a lot that's been provided," alluded Miladin Zivanovic to the monopolistic actions of domestic producers who are demanding more than the guaranteed February wage for a kilogram of herbicide. Incidentally, a good four liters of this costly liquid is necessary for sowing a hectare in sugar beets.

After all these problems, that of importing spare parts for agricultural machinery, 5 million dollars "in weight," figures as marginal.

With the exception of soybean seed, only high-quality selected seed is sufficient. However, the problem is that farmers consider a price parity of 1:13 for wheat and 1:17 for corn too high, and selectors once exceptionally oriented to exports—too low. Moreover, it won't be the first time that "seed from the loft" is being planted.

"The caravan is passing"—It is difficult to say how much arable land will be sown with what kind of seed. It can be claimed with certainty that there will be less of it than the planned 2.5 million hectares, but more than enough to eliminate concern. Whether farmers will explain their self-destructive inertia with the complaint that "patrimony is being neglected" or other arguments is not so important as the realization that it is difficult to collect sufficient quantities of yields from this year's crops that would guarantee certainty for food in the coming year.

The situation, obviously, is "exceptional, whether we want to recognize it or not, and demands taking exceptional measures," as the representative of the Serbian Radical Party said in the Assembly. And the other representatives of this party, which praises its agrarian program, were quite sharp in their condemnation of the existing situation and the measures that the old and new socialist government has undertaken up to now. However, all unanimously accepted the government's generalized and unmentioned Information report. Even the representatives of the Democratic and Serbian Peasants Party, who are immeasurably less numerous and influential than Seselj's party, did not vote against. Nevertheless, DEPOS [the Serbian Renewal Party] has initiated extra-parliamentary activities. Encouraged by such a stand of oppositional Serbia, the president of the Assembly and the minister of agriculture did not find it difficult to conclude the problem with the words "there is no need for anyone to sow defeatism from the assembly platform" because we have "expected hunger and shortages for some time and supplies of food are totally assured and there is no place for either panic or dramatization." Therefore, the government is demonstrating that it has not yet been put in a position where, by undertaking extraordinary measures, it is recognizing the extraordinary nature of a situation that it created through its (in)action.

Even if the distribution of fuel and fertilizer proceeds in a way that is difficult to expect, reducing the number of those that, strictly because of the shortage of these resources, would refrain from planting or would plant only for their own needs, the situation would be only partly tolerable. Namely, last year's experience reminds us that security in supplying the market in food products is not guaranteed even when, as in 1991, they are produced in record quantities. The low level of marketability of these products is a consequence of "the unfavorable economic position of agriculture which stems from many years of disparities in prices for agricultural and industrial products, a credit-monetary policy that was not adapted to the specificities of agricultural production..." as the government's Information report reads: "According to figures from final accounts, qualitative economic indicators for operations in agriculture over the past several years, such as the level of profitability, economy, accumulation, reproductive abilities, and others, are about 30-40 percent lower than the average for the economy."

In other words, he who succeeds in establishing production will find it difficult to recoup all the investment that he made. As an illustration, the procurement of seed and planting of sugar beets cost 250 German marks [DM]/ha [DM], while total production costs are estimated at DM1,054. It is not necessary to prove too much that the majority of farmers do not have their share of the sum of 5 trillion dinars, the total sum necessary for financing the spring planting. Half of this sum, under more favorable conditions for utilization than up to now, was supposed to be provided by the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia]. As in the case of fuel and chemical fertilizer, previous experience warns that problems should also be expected in the distribution of financial fuel oil. The priority provision of the appropriate amount of issuance support, and raising the discount rate, limiting and equalizing interest on credits from business banks, the conversion of short-term credits from primary issuance into long-term credits, as well as postponing their repayment while the sanctions last and, finally, rigorously preventing the wide spread of malversation, are only one group of steps that have to be taken in order for the financial situation in agriculture to be eased.

The second category should include the defining and maintaining of prices and their parities, as well as the assurance of relevant financial support if it is already desired to protect the standard of alarmingly impoverished citizens through price controls on basic food items. The inflation that is daily lowering the yearly level in stable countries makes the problem difficult to resolve. In the Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina they consider, therefore, that prices should be openly expressed in German marks, so that farmers would have some kind of protection and guidelines. Upon realizing that inflation has made the domestic currency completely meaningless, the Serbian Peasants Party has formulated a proposal that a law be adopted on an urgent basis relative to the (natural) exchange of agricultural products for production materials used by agriculture. The argument of Minister of Justice Tomislav Ilic, with which this proposal is rebutted, can be qualified as cynical: "Our constitution guarantees that economic and social order be based on free business operations in all forms of ownership." Not even the outcome of the proposal of representative Dusan Ivkovic, that the government change and amend the Decree on Paying in Cash, which makes it impossible for collective farms and agricultural enterprises, in contrast to dealers and middlemen, to pay for purchased products from daily receipts, will essentially change, unfortunately, the situation that farmers describe with resignation as "sowing foreign exchange and harvesting protective prices," and the urban populace as a silent tightening of the belt.

Fata morgana - To the extent that illusory projections about providing for "sufficient agricultural products for meeting needs, reserves, and for certain surpluses that can serve for exports" are irritating, "to that extent conditions will be satisfied," as it was formulated in the conclusion of the Information Report on Measures Undertaken of the Government of Serbia in connection with the realization of the program for spring planting and with current problems in agriculture.

Under "conditions" is certainly meant the lifting of international sanctions. The assurance of assumptions for ending the blockade, as well as for an effective and frank struggle against hyperinflation, means, however, to undermine the foundations on which this government has developed. This regime is succeeding, namely, in maintaining the false national hope instilled in Serbs outside Serbia and that social hope extended almost equally to existentially threatened Serbs in their own government only through again presenting its unwillingness to yield to the whole world and—the frenetic printing of money.

What would happen if our country were indeed in the Sahara is terrible to imagine. "Sand would become expensive!" was the answer to this question on TV Diary at a time when more capable and clever people worked on television. The events that have followed in the years after that have drained the cleverness from this witticism, changing it into an ominous warning.

## Illegal Deals in Kragujevac Discussed

*93BA0864D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 pp 20-22*

[Article by Gordana Jocic: "The Badnjevac Cooperative: Kladusa Near Kragujevac"]

[Text] Friday, 12 March, was a crucial day in bringing to light illegal acts related to the reselling of flour from commodity reserves; as the facts now show, certain quite distinguished people in Kragujevac were involved in it, among them the mayor, Zivorad Nesic, who was also a people's deputy in the Serbian Assembly.

The scandal broke when inspectors of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], after consultations with the market inspectorate, summoned to the police station in the late night (early morning) hours for background interviews Miladin Todorcevic, acting director of Zitoprodukt, the largest grain producer here (in which Nesic was the general director before taking office as mayor), and Bogomir Stevanovic, director of the agricultural cooperative in the nearby village Badnjevac. It is no secret in Kragujevac that these two were close friends and also business associates not only of the mayor, but also of other people in power, among them Predrag Galovic, director of Jugobanka in Kragujevac and a former federal deputy, Borisav Jovic, former president of the SFRY and the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], and Srboljub Vasovic, deputy prime minister in the present Serbian government, who since the arrest of Minister Velimir Mihajlovic is also "holding" the trade portfolio.

A week later, after several more "background interviews" and a "spontaneous" gathering of people from Badnjevac in front of the district court building (demanding that the director of their cooperative be discharged) against them and against Slobodan Stojkovic, commercial director of the agricultural cooperative, and Slobodan Stefanovic, private trucker, who owns the private firm Beki Komerc, a criminal indictment was filed for using commodity reserves for other than the stated purpose and for abuse of authority in the economy.

### Resale

So far, it has been established beyond dispute that 175 metric tons of flour from commodity reserves were sold by Zitoprodukt to the agricultural cooperative in Badnjevac even before it reached their warehouse, and by the latter in turn to private bakers in Kosovo and Metohija and the private firms Kija Komerc in Pristina, Resava in Kragujevac, and Vocar in Pozega.

This flour was purchased from the Commodity Reserves Directorate—Novi Sad Sector, but now the acting director of Zitoprodukt is defending himself by saying that its sale was permitted, referring even to a recent statement by the assistant trade minister to POLITIKA

EKSPRES to the effect that flour from the Novi Sad commodity reserves need not be used exclusively to make bread.

The MUP has established that in accordance with an agreement reached earlier among Bogomir Stevanovic, Slobodan Stojkovic, Miladin Todorcevic, and the trucker Slobodan Stefanovic, the trucker Stefanovic, who filled out blank permission sheets on the spot, was directly taken over from the Debeljaca Mill on Todorcevic's written authority and carried to the private operators in Kosmet.

Thus, 136 tons of flour were sold in this way, and Stefanovic, after deducting 5 pfennigs per kilogram for trucking costs, turned over the amount of 40,800 German marks [DM] to the cooperative's commercial director, and the latter in turn to Bogomir Stevanovic, the director. Stojkovic declared in his interview in the MUP that he gave the foreign exchange to the director and did not know where it is now. A check of the cashier's office of the cooperative revealed that that money was not paid into the cashier, but DM24,000 were still found in the desk of Stevanovic's wife, Gordana, who is employed in the cooperative. According to the statement which she gave the police, she had received that money a few days earlier from her husband, although money was collected for the flour some 20 days before that.

The flour was also picked up in the same way at Backo Topola. Again, the foreign exchange was turned over to the commercial director, and he paid the dinar equivalent into the cooperative's account. It was found that there was no payment at all for 30 tons of the flour, although the invoice states that the payment was made. For all these reasons, the remaining shipment of 90 tons of flour was held up by the police at the railroad station in Batocina.

### The Radicals

The market in Kragujevac, well-known for the incredible speed with which rumors spread, has supplemented these reports with certain new ones which for the present have not been confirmed by the investigation being conducted by the police and the inspectorate. Thus, according to the "news" of the marketplace, which is piling up continuously, those behind bars include not only Mayor Nesic, who has already been mentioned, and then the prestigious private operators Dragic Spiljevic and Slavisa Mrdakovic, who have been supplying petroleum to the city (the first runs the tourist agency Kompas and the other the private firm Alpen), but also other quite well-known people like Borivoje Petrovic, former vice president of the Serbian Assembly, and even Rodoljub Micic, director of Zastava. The MUP has, of course, denied this, but the people, who like the new role of the Serbian president very much, are not easy to convince.

Now, there are all kinds of stories about how other things were also "cooked up" that went through the Badnjevac Agricultural Cooperative. For example, that they had in their parking lots cars which they sold for a song to well-off people in Kragujevac, that loans were made on good terms from the internal savings bank, there is talk about the purchase of lots in Greece for a campground, unlawful trade in tractors, about establishment of livestock farms.... The inspectorate itself has said that the investigation being conducted in connection with the flour is not the end and that they are also on the trail of certain other products from commodity reserves—oil, detergents, sugar, which also were illegally resold.

Oil was poured on the fire by Miladin Todorcevic himself, who made a statement to SVETLOST of Kragujevac that Mayor Zivorad Nesic, "as their general director, who even today is receiving a salary from them, was informed about everything and everything was done on his orders." To be sure, immediately after it was published in the newspaper, this statement was denied. We have learned unofficially that there were similar statements made during the investigation, even that in answer to the question of how it was learned what the price of flour would be before it was established in the government and published, the answer was that they were told by Srboljub Vasovic!

The Serbian Radical Party is also mixed up in it all. Tomislav Nikolic, that party's president, at the moment one of the most highly exposed people's deputies in the Serbian Assembly, appeared on Kragujevac television and was harshly critical of the municipal authority and city SPS, suggesting that if they are not able to face and deal with the corn cockle in their (grain) ranks, then the Serbian Radical Party will demand it and see that it gets done.

"We know that at the moment the MUP is conducting an unsparing action and that that flock is closing ranks in an attempt to continue to roam abroad; we know that the telephones have been red hot with calls to their connections in Belgrade, but we will no longer allow anyone to come up short in the drive to combat crime," Tomislav Nikolic declared, also to SVETLOST.

This kind of statement from him did not, of course, fail to evoke a reaction. Zivorad Nesic has not so far commented on the accusations which connect him to the buying and selling of commodity reserves, but he did make a statement somewhat earlier that if the irregularities and machinations being spoken of are established, or any others, all individuals or organizations must take responsibility, regardless of who they are and in what position.

### Soccer

Readers will certainly be interested in why an agricultural cooperative and its chairman should have an essential place in this entire case, because in the first place cooperatives are not particularly popular at the present moment (if they ever were), and in the second place the cooperatives, which once had communist names like the one still carried even today by the Kragujevac cooperative "Dawn of Socialism," have no particular privileged status today.

The agricultural cooperative in Badnjevac is an exception in all respects. According to the director himself, it is an authentic economic miracle, because over the last 10 years or so it has grown from a work force of 32 and property worth about DM500,000 to a firm with a work force of 90 and property worth about DM30 million. Salaries in that cooperative do not go below DM250 to DM300 (about 7.5 million) and, as Bogomir Stevanovic says, it has money reserves to meet the payroll for the next 60 years without doing anything.

Badnjevac today has the same opinion of Bogomir Stevanovic that Velika Kladusa once had about Fikret Abdic. Stevanovic is popular thanks to the Badnjevac Soccer Team, which is leading the third Serbian league and is making a solid run to move up to the second league. Not only have people come to like this soccer team, but they also are pleased that its most ardent fans, who often attend the games, include Borisav Jovic, Predrag Galovic, Zivorad Nesic, Dragisa Matovic, director of Sumadija Finansija (the former internal bank of the Sumadija Agroindustrial Combine), Milenko Marjanovic, director of Kragujevac's largest hostelry firm UTP Kragujevac, prestigious Kragujevac lawyers, and many others.

It is no wonder, then, that the people of Badnjevac should have organized a "rally in support" of the chairman of the cooperative at precisely the time when he was making a statement to the investigating judge.

It is really a pity that this is only a newspaper and the readers cannot see, but must themselves imagine, how impressive it was for this chairman of an agricultural cooperative to go to the window of the stately court building and from there to tell the crowd to disperse, because he would soon be released. That night, the people of Badnjevac held a festival in their village that will long be remembered: From what we have learned, it lasted until 0300 hours.

And now this Monday an invitation promptly appeared on a newsman's desk to attend a meeting of the Board of Directors of Jugobanka of Kragujevac. It was signed by someone other than Bogomir Stevanovic.

For the present, we do not know what will happen after this. According to some reports, "the investigation is being widened," while according to others, "the investigation is being narrowed."

## Sources of Financing of Parties Examined

*93BA0864E Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 pp 23-25*

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "All Are to Some Extent Socialists"]

[Text] A recent decision of the Belgrade Committee of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] to return everything that Master Jezda at one time contributed to the election campaign of this party to Jugoskandik, which has run aground, in order to meet the claims of injured savings depositors to the last dinar, does not appear to have moved very much the deceived savings depositors.

It is not evident, for example, how much money the SPS will be returning to Jugoskandik (Jezdimir Vasiljevic mentioned a "payoff" of 200,000 German marks [DM]), nor is there a hint as to where that money will come from if it has already been spent in the election campaign. The extent of this surprising retroactive squeamishness of the SPS has also remained unclear: Will this party return only money which Master Jezda donated for "this is the right way," or will the Socialists perhaps also renounce money which the owner of Jugoskandik on the eve of the first election back in 1990 donated to that prewar "we are a guarantee against uncertainty"?

In an interview which he gave last week to NOVOSADSKI INDEKS, the leader of Belgrade Socialists and municipal prime minister, Nebojsa Covic, M.A., acknowledged, that is, that Jezdimir Vasiljevic "largely financed the SPS in the 1990 election as well, but on a totally voluntary basis." In that same interview, Covic said that it was evident that Jezda was financing many parties, "probably counting on getting some benefits," which sounds quite logical.

### Jezda as a Latter-Day Lenin

The immense quantities of money that flow into politics all over the world are, of course, anything but an expression of someone's mere philanthropy, but are usually a transaction from which the donors expect important favors in return—most frequently economic concessions or appointment to influential posts in the government. When Richard Nixon ran for U.S. President, he collected $1.7 million in the campaign from people whom he later, as president, rewarded with ambassador posts. Jezda was obviously not "shoeing" for any ambassadorial post, but it is quite certain that he counted on broadening his economic power, which would one day flow over into political power as well. In that same interview, Nebojsa Covic also expresses, however, a frank doubt that any "secret and counterorganizations" from outside the country stand behind Jezda's money.

Who "sent" us Master Jezda and with what intentions, and was he our Lenin who was not to be? this is something we will perhaps learn one day in the distant future. Probably from some foreign newspaper. Just as the other day the Russians could learn from STERN of Hamburg, which allegedly refers to secret documents in the Moscow, German, and U.S. archives, that the October Revolution was "conceived" and financed by none other than German Emperor Wilhelm II. As far as Master Jezda is concerned, for the present he has only revealed that he is ready to finance (sponsor) a civil war in Serbia, but he is not interested in taking a direct part in all of that.

What is rather striking even now, however, is that none of the party leaders has seen fit to deny a part of Nebojsa Covic's statement to the effect that Jezdimir Vasiljevic was "evidently financing many parties." Something else that is unquestionably of interest is that even the public admission of the SPS that that party's campaign was partially financed with the money of Jugoskandik's savings depositors has not motivated the opposition all that much to attempt to win a few political points with that fact. The only logical explanation for that hesitation might be the assumption that no one is really altogether sure what they might get from any serious scrutiny of their own party treasury and list of donors. When it comes to financing political parties, the slogan of the Belgrade SPS in the recent election—"We are all Socialists to some extent"—seems to have quietly taken effect.

The financing of political parties was also being discussed very seriously exactly a year ago. The law on financing political parties was prepared at that time, but the real occasion for discussions of that topic was Slobodan Milosevic's interview in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA and his famous statement that Vojislav Seselj is his favorite oppositionist, for one thing because he is not receiving money from abroad. The opposition reacted very stormily at the time. The Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], for example, in harshly denying such accusations, published in its organ, SRPSKA REC, a list of that party's receipts and expenditures. One of the things revealed at that time was that that party had a firm, SPO Komerc, whose business has not been exactly flourishing, and it probably will be closed.

The Democratic Party [DS] went even a bit further at the time: Because of statements about "opposition mercenaries" and financing "from foreign sources," it filed suit against Borisav Jovic, who at the time was president of the SPS, and Miodrag Djukic, minister of culture, and complaints were also filed against Slobodan Milosevic and Petar Skundric. The Democrats also demanded at the same time formation of an investigating committee that would look into sources of financing of all the parliamentary parties, would interrogate all the competent government agencies (State Security Service, Social Accounting Service), would seek statements from Milosevic and Jovic, who allegedly possess incriminating information, and submit a report to the parliament. Zoran Cetkovic, who was justice minister at the time, rejected that motion out of hand and promised that "everything would be solved" in this area with adoption of the Law on Financing Political Parties.

## Mother's Milk

That law was in fact adopted later on, but as shown by the Jugoskandik affair the veil of secrecy has still not been removed from the financial dealings of the parties. The statutes are interpreted in the way that suits the political parties, which leaves open the possibility not only of inequality among the parties, but also of various illegal acts and an uncontrolled role for money in politics, through which in turn various dangerous influences make their way into politics from the other direction.

Our law, which is not very precise and has many loopholes, prohibits the parties from getting money from the governments of foreign states, government agencies, business firms, and legal entities, except for associations of individuals. The money obtained from anonymous donors must not exceed 3 percent of the annual net inflow. What all this looks like in practice has been demonstrated by the Jugoskandik affair and Nebojsa Covic's assertion that it was the obligation of the SPS to "protect the secrecy of the fact" that money for this party's campaign came from Master Jezda. Even in the other parties they are saying that the lists of their donors are by and large known only to members of party executive committees and are not accessible to the general public, because those who donate the money would not like that. The interpretation of the Serbian Justice Ministry shows, however, something quite different: The concept of trade secrets of political parties does not exist, because the law explicitly states that sources of income of political parties are public and every citizen can examine their business transactions.

In the United States, where they make no secret that money is the "mother's milk of all politics" and where no one makes any bones about saying that an immense number of dollars is invested in any politician or in his road to power, there are extremely strict rules of the game in this area. Although many people show an incredible imagination in getting around the law, or adapt to the provisions of the law "like a penguin to an iceberg," most politicians realized long ago that the risks of that kind of behavior are too great and that this does not pay, because it usually means the end of someone's political career. Party finances are a completely open area and at this point journalists can obtain accurate figures on how much money was spent on anyone's election campaign. The public is regularly informed about every cent that goes into the party treasury and leaves it, and the same figures are also accessible at any time to the opposition camp, which can also draw public conclusions from this about the (im)morality and behavior of the rival party. The occasional discovery of party financial violations shows not only that misappropriations still exist, but also that there is a system of control which removes violators from the game.

In our case, the public and individuals are mainly left to make their own guesses as to who the donors of political parties are. Because it is more than clear that recent election campaigns, which have been extremely expensive, could not have been financed with the money collected from membership dues, voluntary contributions—the sale of party badges or the token subsidies from the government, the public has these days begun on its own initiative to "recognize" rich party donors. For instance, Jezdimir Vasiljevic and Zivadin Mihailovic, Zika Mustikla [that is, Zika with the cigarette holder], director of Stankom Corporation and a federal deputy of the SPS, are mentioned as the main financers of the SPS. The SPO's strongest trump is said to be that party's vice president, Dragoslav Milicic, who recently admitted in POLITIKA that he is the one who built the party offices in Andre Nikolic Street and donated its use gratis to the

SPO Presidency. The financially most powerful people of the Democratic Party include Djordje Zecevic, who owns Velauto, and Radoje Djukic, who owns the knitwear firm Djukic. On several occasions, the DS has been known to say that this party is "more elite in its level of education and financially powerful" and for that reason relies to a considerable extent on domestic forces for financing. The Democrats also have the agency Autorska Zastita [Intellectual Property Protection], which, according to what some say, provides half of the party's budget.

The two convincingly richest parties are the SPS and SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia], which without any valid will inherited much of the property of the former LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] and SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] and thereby place themselves in the incomparably most favorable situation at the outset of the multiparty struggle, neutralizing in advance the importance of any law on financing political parties and on rules of behavior. In order to avoid similar situations and friction, in Poland all the property of the former Communist Party of Poland was at one point proclaimed to be government property. Here, that property has been grabbed by those who overnight renounced the communist name, but also by those who preserve the old name and part of the property, and later invented the effective slogans—"We are new, the old ones are in the other parties." According to some estimates, the former LCY left behind in the former Yugoslavia property whose value was estimated at about DM94 million. A not exactly negligible part of the property (for example, 15,500 square meters of office space) went to the SK-PJ, which, among other things, is today the owner of the well-off holding company Kometa. Incomparably more went to the SPS, which aside from a great deal of property today also has 25 business firms and agencies whose income it uses to finance this party's 114 opstina committees.

The lawyer, Milenko Radic, who has concerned himself most persistently with the question of financing political parties and their unequal position, said at one time that one committee of the SPS has more money than all the opposition parties put together. Comparing the SPS to many parties in the West, Radic came to the conclusion that the Serbian Socialists, having appropriated property which all citizens of Serbia had created over decades, have become true European rich men. Even on the eve of the recent election, lawyer Radic, in vain it seems, was reminding people of the unlawful primitive accumulation of the SPS and offering evidence showing that back in September 1990 $1.1 million came from somewhere and were paid into the continuing account of the discontinued Belgrade City Committee of the LC [League of Communists]. Some of that money was perhaps paid into the account of the then nonexistent Communists, as it now turns out, by Jezdimir Vasiljevic, who the other day in a press conference in Tel Aviv justified his departure from the country in terms of not having been able to get along with the remnants of the old system.

Although the ultimate consequences of the Jugoskandik affair still cannot be foreseen, it is clear even now that on this occasion the opposition, even without having done anything particular on its own and in spite of its surprising silence, is nevertheless reaping some profit. The assertion of the first man among Belgrade Socialists that "secret organizations outside the country" stand behind Vasiljevic, put most simply, means that those who were using his money were by means of that money connected to foreign services themselves and therefore have no right to beat their patriotic chests any longer, chests already beaten black and blue, and at the same time proclaim all the others foreign mercenaries without offering proof.

The opposition's idea last year of forming an investigating committee in the Serbian Assembly that would look into party treasuries seems an extremely topical one even today. Any serious government would for that matter have to know and publish who donated money to politics and when, and how the people are behaving who received it and are spending it. Those who in this matter have long ago moved far ahead of us, as they have in many other respects, often console themselves after some scandal that they have "the best politicians that money can buy." We are lagging seriously behind in that respect. For the money being mentioned these days in "the scandal of the ministers," one could "buy" incomparably better politicians than someone like Save Vlajkovic, for example.

## Serbian Intelligence Services Investigate Krajina

*93BA0905A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Apr 93 p 6*

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "Belgrade Has Discovered the Sins of the Knin Leadership"]

[Text] *In a special analysis, the Belgrade leadership has determined that several leading people in the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina], including Knin TV director Grkovic and Milan Martic, intended to refuse to obey Serbia and declare independence.*

From our contributors.

A man who can smile when everything is going wrong has certainly thought of someone he can shift the blame to, according to Jones's Law. That is probably the reason why several members of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army [VJ] and the Serbian political leadership are beaming with satisfaction these days, since the Serbian intelligence service, headed by Mihalj Kertes, called Bracika, and Radenko Radinovic's VJ Security Administration have offered them an analysis of the situation in the RSK and of the reasons for the loss of strategically important areas, with an emphasis on slip-ups in the VJ.

According to the analysis, which was prepared at Slobodan Milosevic's request, "for some time now we have observed the ineffectiveness of individuals in the RSK leadership, especially Defense Minister Stojan Spanovic, Knin TV director Milan Grkovic, and also Milan Martic.

The latter is particularly responsible for the infiltration of a considerable number of intelligence officers from Croatia and other states hostile to Serbia and the FRY. Thus, people have been employed in the editorial office for Knin TV's news program who—as our service previously warned—are not suitable for that responsible job, even though they are of Serbian nationality, since it has been determined that they are collaborating with Western intelligence services, primarily MI-6 and CIA, and have thus met and cooperated with individuals of interest for security reasons from Zagreb as well as with citizens of the United States, France, Canada, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. Milan Grkovic is especially responsible for this; he allowed these journalists to visit otherwise closed areas and record a video cassette, which, at the request of Major General Vuk Obradovic, no one should show, on the grounds that it was used for other purposes.

"Through an inspection in the appropriate department, it was determined that the cassette was never returned, and that in addition to it, other cassettes recorded for the needs of the Moral and Political Education Department were also missing; these were recordings of the special-purpose units under the command of Lt. Colonel Dragan Vasiljkovic and the elite Tiger units of VJ Colonel Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan. Milan Grkovic could not say where those cassettes kept in the safe had disappeared, nor could he explain how at one time a video recording of our units in Vukovar came into Croatian hands, which led to the assassination or attempted assassination of Major General Veselin Sljivcanin, Djordje Rkman, and several other prominent individuals."

The report then states that these slip-ups were pointed out to Minister of Internal Affairs Milan Martic, who was not at all willing to track down the spies. Allegedly he even told Vuk Obradovic that "uncovering spies is the task of the military security service, and the civilian police do not have anything to do with it." He thus wanted to shift all the blame to Milisav Gagovic and Bosko Kelecevic, who were responsible for counterintelligence tasks, the report states, even though they had done their work properly and in accordance with orders from Belgrade.

**Difficulties With Martic**

That is only the beginning of the sins of some members of the Knin leadership. Specifically, the report states that "Bosko Kelecevic had difficulties in coordination with Milan Martic; he did not use his authority and powers to prevent the activity of his faction. Furthermore, he allowed foreign (Slovene and American) journalists to visit, who, as was later determined, collected intelligence information." Stojan Spanovic is accused of having "neglected the principal tasks under his jurisdiction, and the units on the southern front were not appropriately prepared for sudden attacks by the Ustasa forces, even though the Security Administration warned several times that such an action was to be expected and even cited approximately the exact date of the attack against the RSK; it happened only 12 hours earlier than predicted. Defense Minister Stojan Spanovic and Milan Martic reported to us barely three hours before the attack that there was no sign at all of any activity by the Croatian Army, and consequently they did not want to send reinforcements to the field, the units under Dragan Vasiljkovic's command, so they stopped them and only let them through after Generals Mladic and Bozidar Stevanovic threatened to attack the Serbian army's positions. It was thanks to their intervention that they also let through Col. Raznjatovic's Tigers from the direction of Banja Luka, whom they likewise had not permitted to enter RSK territory."

**Conspiracy**

"We therefore had to establish an investigating group under the leadership of Major Generals Vuk Obradovic, Milan Gvero, and Nedeljko Boskovic, and the Tigers' security chief, Nebojsa Djordjevic. Through a review of documentation it was determined that Knin TV director Milan Grkovic had traveled on business several times to Belgrade, Petrinja, and Glina, where he contacted Milan Babic's adherents, and also spoke with General Blagoje Adzic, Aleksandar Vasiljevic, Milan Aksentijevic, and others. We found out through operational activity that Grkovic claimed in those talks that he was fully supported by Milan Martic, Stojan Spanovic, and others who intended to refuse to obey Belgrade and declare independence, and at the same time negotiate with the Croatian authorities about the possibilities for normalizing the situation. Allegedly Mile Novakovic, chief of the General Staff, also agreed with this; in a talk with the commission he neither confirmed nor denied it, and instead dodged with accusations that they had forgotten about the Krajina. From a talk with people subordinate to him we learned that by telephone and radio communications Novakovic really had talked with representatives of the Croatian armed forces. They could not say what he talked about, but only heard him say once that he hoped "that everything would be as we agreed." Otherwise, they allegedly planned the removal of trusted people like Raznjatovic, Vasiljkovic, and others, and were to appoint in their places Andrija Raseta, Aleksandar Vasiljevic, and Blagoje Adzic, who were retired precisely because of their treacherous conduct and suspicious contacts with the Croatian side. Furthermore, in the field they did not take care effectively enough of the removal of dubious people, and when we sent our units there, i.e., the Tigers, to carry out that task, Milan Martic's police units tried to prevent it. That is proof by itself that there was a conspiracy. The difficulty is that this group enjoys unlimited support in the RSK, and consequently a sudden attempt to seize power would have been risky.

### Extortion Attempts

With respect to Milan Grkovic, it is necessary to state that he opened a private enterprise in Petrinja for financial engineering and an automobile dealership, and started to establish his own radio station and newspaper, even though Colonel Tarbuk warned him not to do it.

He agreed with individuals from Petrinja, Glina, Knin, Obrovac, Doboj, and Tuzla that they would steal cars in those areas, for which they then acquired new documents and sent them through secret routes to Croatia, where they were sold for hard currency, and part of the income ended up in Milan Grkovic's account. We have grounds to suspect that part of this money was donated to the Croatian intelligence service so that it would not block the money when it came to the other side. We have indisputable proof that Milan Grkovic and Stojan Spanovic also established a private enterprise through which they are buying oil and gasoline and even selling it to their own army at a price higher than in other parts of Croatia. Furthermore, they and Milan Martic secretly recorded the conversations of our prominent people and followed them, so that they could blackmail them if their activity were uncovered. They thus "learned" that General Mladic was psychologically unbalanced and suffering from psychotic depression and a persecution complex. They intended to proclaim their 'finding' publicly, and obviously that would have seriously affected the Serbian people's battle. They intended to arrest Raznjatovic, Biljana Plavsic, Vasiljkovic, Mladic, and several others, and try them as war criminals. There is evidence that Milan Grkovic, Bosko Kelecevic, and Stojan Spanovic planned and did all this in agreement with Croatian intelligence officers. Col. Radomir Sekulic calmly watched their activity and even agreed with observations that Belgrade should not interfere in their internal affairs, although he was supposed to be an intelligence link between the RSK and Belgrade."

In the conclusion of their analysis, the Belgrade intelligence officers noted that "the story that Belgrade had forgotten about Knin was invented in Martic's kitchen, and its purpose was to prepare the ground for the removal of Goran Hadzic and Mile Paspalj, who were fully supported by Belgrade, and later also to settle accounts with Arkan and the other reinforcements sent from Belgrade." For the time being, Nedeljko Boskovic, former chief of the KOS [military counterintelligence service], is in charge of intelligence matters in the Krajina, in cooperation with Slobodan Tarbuk, Vuk Obradovic, Veselin Sljivcanin, and several other officers. Martic has only kept power on paper. In view of the seriousness of the accusations, the question of how long he will still be at large also arises.

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## Extent of State's Involvement in Crime Examined

*93BA0837A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 pp 10-13*

[Article by Dimitrije Boarov: "The SDB Closes the Circle"]

[Text]*If the Serbian Government, in its commitment to intensify action to curb crime "horizontally," had also added a promise that the action would be continued "vertically"—the necessary coordinates would have been established for describing the circle of theft in which the citizens of this country have found themselves. The fact that the SDB [State Security Service] and its real head, after the arrest of the two ministers, assumed control of the "height of the investigation," was in a way signaled by the smooth refusal by the Serbian Assembly (on 18 March) to form a survey committee to investigate the responsibility of Dr. Radoman Bozovic, prime minister, during whose term the corruption of the authorities flourished. The breadth of the struggle against crime, on the other hand, is unlimited, and so on the basis of a statement by Goran Percevic, vice president of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], given in Arilje, it can be concluded that in addition to the struggle against thieves, the action is also "spreading" to the struggle against large social differences. Percevic said that "We cannot permit" ourselves to get into the position of the South American states, where the 5 percent rich people control more than 50 percent of the social product. Will the struggle against crime also turn into a struggle against capitalism?*

One of the depositors in Dafiment Bank, who was pushing and shoving in vain in Republic Square all day last Tuesday in order to withdraw his money, told a TV reporter, "I don't trust anyone anymore!" Those who "do not trust" anymore are apparently more numerous than the others, who simply crowded for several days in front of the Hyatt to deposit their money with Dafina again at astronomical interest rates, even though the boss of Jezda's Jugoskandik has virtually shut down his operation, and several hundreds of thousands of people have increasingly less hope of being compensated. What is contributing to suppressing this hope is not just the almost arrogant silence from the authorities about the Jugoskandik scandal (Sokolovic did not mention it in his report to the Assembly), but also the continuation of the hazy comedy concerning "Jezda's legacy." This is because the main person who should "fairly and honestly" compensate the depositors from what is left of Jezda's capital in the country—Jugoskandik's verbal director, the lawyer Stevan Protic—has been wanted by the Swiss police for almost 10 years now for forgery and the "theft" of 18,700 Swiss francs. The story deserves to be told in somewhat more detail.

## The Story of the Lawyer

At the moment when Serbian TV announced that lawyer Stevan Protic from Zemun had been appointed by telephone as acting director of Jugoskandik (on 8 March), laughter, bitter laughter, resounded in Stevan Gion's house in Novi Sad. According to Gion, it is as if you heard that Feliks Krul, in order to calm his partners, had designated Ostap Bender [protagonist of Soviet picaresque novel "The Twelve Chairs"] to continue his work.

At the beginning of the 1980's, when Mr. Stevan Gion, a retired architect from Novi Sad, after an investigation of "embezzlements" from the firm Izomont, which he founded after working as a guest worker in Switzerland and Morocco, hired for his defense the Novi Sad lawyer Veljko Komlenovic (a former SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs] chief), the latter engaged a colleague from Zemun, Stevan Protic, to help him. Mr. Gion claims that this pair of lawyers defended him by robbing him, using documents that the militia bought after searching his apartment. Those documents included his old savings passbook from Schweitzerische Volksbank in Basel, in which he had deposited 38,000 francs. Even though this deposit had been transferred to a new passbook, Mr. Stevan Protic succeeded—as Mr. Gion claims—on 27 August 1992 in obtaining 18,700 francs from cashier Karl Ramstajn with a forged authorization for the old passbook.

Stevan Gion says that he did not even know for a whole year that his account had been lightened, until his son, in Basel itself, was arrested in front of the bank window when he started yelling because he could not withdraw the money. Then the "film story" started. As soon as Gion complained to the local investigative authorities that Protic had robbed him, the latter accused him in a "counterattack" of the criminal act of "filing a false complaint," and the Novi Sad court sentenced him to six months in prison. Mr. Gion only then realized "who he had to deal with." He barely managed to overturn the conviction for the "false complaint" and filed a civil suit against lawyer Protic before the Fourth Municipal Court in Belgrade. After absolutely rejecting all the statements in the indictment during that trial, Mr. Protic subsequently "admitted" that he had withdrawn that 18,700 francs in Basel, but this time he said that he had deposited the money in Gion's alleged safe in the same building. In response to a question about which bank he had placed that money in, Protic answered that he did not remember which bank that safe was in, and that he could not find that building in Basel.

It is interesting to note that this action against Mr. Protic was initiated back on 24 April 1987, and that to this very day Judge Mirjana Polic has not issued any verdict. Mr. Gion did everything possible to get a law-governed state started—he requested that Mrs. Polic be disqualified, he appealed, he complained about her "biased conduct of the trial" to the Republic Secretariat for Justice and Administration—but no decision has been issued to this very day.

With all the caution that we have to maintain regarding the story that Mr. Stevan Gion told us, with a pile of documents in his hand, we can note several indisputable things that are also interesting for our story about Jugoskandik. The public prosecutor's office of the Basel-Stadt canton has issued a warrant for Mr. Stevan Protic's arrest "for fraud and the falsification of documents." According to the court records, he stated that "he did not know which Basel bank he had left that money in, and that he could not find that building." Let's hope that it won't happen again, Jugoskandik's depositors would say.

By the way, this "lawyer with a name and reputation" (VECERNJE NOVOSTI) stated that "he had never been involved with the militia in his life, except as a lawyer, and now he had been driven to ask the militia to protect him," because the depositors were angry. Naturally, he was not involved with the Swiss policy, since they did not catch him. It really is not known, however, whether he was previously involved with our militia.

Since Boss Jezda's departure, it seems, lawyer Protic has been more concerned about how to protect the authorities from dissatisfied depositors and a political scandal than about how to give them some prospect of compensation later on. In that regard, he called upon the depositors "not to create a climate through their indignation that would be similar to uncontrolled reactions, not just in front of banks but also in other places," and virtually accused his employer of being "drawn into the dangerous games of certain forces for undermining domestic peace in our country."

## Serbia and Montenegro

Last week Jezdimir Vasiljevic himself sent various messages to his clients. One of the latest ones is that he will compensate his depositors from Hungary, to which he will organize a free "bus bridge." Otherwise, in Yugoslavia itself, when Mr. Protic in the company of the police (finally) found Jezda's safe and collected the money from the branches in it, less than 10 million marks was found. In the vault on Marshal Tolbuhin Street, 100 bars of gold were found (about 3 million marks), along with a sack of gold coins, and 3.5 million marks in bank notes. It is not yet known how much was "withdrawn" by Jugoskandik's employees from their accounts and the accounts of their friends (during the "first 48 hours" after Jezda's departure), but the general estimate being stated is 120 million marks in this bank's "savings portfolio." The funniest thing about this whole affair is that legally speaking, those who have suffered losses will have to sue the Private Economy Bank in Podgorica, which gave Jezda bank coverage for collecting foreign exchange and the savings passbooks themselves. It seems that there are no naive people there either, however.

In fact, on 15 March the news burst like a bomb that the Podgorica court, on 8 January 1993, had placed a "ban on the transportation" of 62,900,805 liters of premium fuel that Jezda had imported, but these days, allegedly, only 8,733,000 liters are in the Kotor tanks. Consequently, 54,000 tons of gasoline have evaporated. Those who will be tried along with Jugoskandik during the coming decades (God forbid!) will certainly not allow the money "in gasoline" that is now missing to evaporate from Montenegro's balance-sheets. If Jezda really was used for a game of wits between the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships, then Djukanovic and his comrades have turned out to be far more adept. Even some stronger bank than Jezda's Jugoskandik could not withstand a two-month "freeze" on 80 million Deutschemarks. If someone suspects that the Serbian government has undertaken the war on crime in order to "pressure" its counterparts in Montenegro, he could say with more reason that the "undermining" of social security in Serbia has effectively been carried out from Podgorica.

### All Our Ministers

In connection with the arrest of Ministers Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic, by Thursday morning there was still "no news" from the investigative authorities, after those sparse initial announcements. Dr. Radoman Bozovic, the mentor of those two while they were in ministerial armchairs, is not commenting on anything for the time being, and is keeping quiet better than Zoran Sokolovic, the police minister, who has provided an abundance of data in his report, but not a single name. Bozovic's brother, admittedly, is identified as one of those who "picked up" one of the six Mercedes cars that Vlajkovic imported "the day before the December elections" (19 December 1991). Also identified among those who "picked them up" was former Minister Kicanovic. The Mercedes cars were picked up in Horgos, at a customs office where four customs inspectors have already been charged for obtaining cheap multiyear loans from Dafiment Bank, and where a real hunt is being organized these days for the foreign exchange cash that various individuals are frantically trying to take out of the country.

While the press and many representatives of the public are constantly trying to provoke at least testimony from former Prime Minister Dr. Bozovic about the transactions that his government conducted with the ridiculous price of the foreign exchange from the state reserves, Seselj's Radicals are trying to place former federal Prime Minister Milan Panic in this anti-crime epic. In fact, it is not hard to guess who really ordered this denunciation, because some findings of the Federal Foreign Exchange Inspectorate reached Novi Sad and Radical activist Milorad Crnjanin, who accused Panic in a press conference of taking $7.5 million in profits from ICN Galenika on the basis of joint ownership which had not been fulfilled in accordance with the contract. Specifically, Crnjanin revealed to the public that of the promised total of $270 million in participation by Panic's company SPI in Galenika's capital, as much as approximately $50 million was sitting in Zurich, and that was probably hurting Serbia's business. Milosevic and the SPS, naturally, cannot exploit this circumstance, because the careful Panic deposited that money there long before they proposed him as federal prime minister (as VREME has already written, back in June 1992). By the way—now, under sanctions, isn't it even convenient for ICN Galenika's operation, and better than having that money end up in Jezda's or Dafina's "circle of business"? Like all the other actions by the Serbian Radicals, the pressure upon Mr. Brankovic, the head of ICN Galenika, who is now renouncing Panic because he wanted to replace Milosevic, will perhaps have fatal economic consequences. We will not even have this little medicine.

If many people will have reason to make an effort to establish a "detective seesaw" between Panic and Dr. Bozovic, the current prime minister, Dr. Nikola Sainovic, will certainly keep aside. He has already defended Dr. Bozovic, as his former boss, even during the discussion on the occasion of his own inauguration, with the general justification that he worked "during the time of the most difficult sanctions." Certainly Sainovic himself knows, and Dr. Bozovic probably knows even better, that people went for oil abroad with suitcases (literally) of state money, which the investigation at Jugodrvo is now publicly revealing. It is not yet known whether the MUP, for the sake of "sheltering from disaster," or because of some other "preparations" along those lines, kept secret for an entire week the "place of residence" of the so-called third man from Jugodrvo, Mr. Radakovic. After general concern, the man suddenly appeared, and this firm's entire leadership is now sitting with the investigating judge instead of in their offices at work.

Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic will not be particularly active in any further purging of the Serbian leadership and its ministries, because he certainly knows quite well how the ministries are linked with the most profitable transactions in the economy. A year ago, his former closest colleague at the Serbian Energy Ministry, Toplica Nedeljkovic, left direct "state service" and became the head of the first joint Russian-Serbian firm in Belgrade after Resolution IB. In fact, Mr. Nedeljkovic is under the auspices of the foreign trade firm Progres, which has always been close to the state, and which last year founded Progresgas Trading, a firm that immediately announced that it would monopolize imports of gas from Russia. This has to do with 3.3 billion cubic meters of gas per year, and counterdeliveries of goods valued at about $270 million (between $240 and $290 million). With the usual margin, Nedeljkovic and his companions from Russia's Gasprom would take in about $9.5 million a year in net profits.

The problem is "only" that Sainovic and Nedeljkovic know very well that first the entire business has to be seized from a state firm like the Serbian Oil Industry [NIS] (which was founded because, allegedly, it mostly conducts state and intergovernmental transactions). Within the framework of NIS, during the previous 15 years imports of gas were handled by NAP [expansion unknown] in Novi Sad. This firm is also handling—which is now very vital—a contract with Mineralimpex in Hungary, without which gas cannot be transported to Yugoslavia. That contract only expires in 1999, so the peace-loving people in Novi Sad are proposing that Progresgas Trading export gas from Russia to Beregovo on the border with Hungary, and that NAP continue to accept it as it has in the past near Kiskundorozsma. The "trick," however, is that Progresgas Trading wants to be the "owner" of the gas all the way to Yugoslavia itself, so as not to lose the profits from counterdeliveries from the FRY and to keep the distributors throughout the country in its fist. The fact that this ambition of Mr. Nedeljkovic's is opposed by Energoinvest in Belgrade indicates that this is not just a case of further "looting" by Vojvodina firms. Here are messes that Mr. Nikola Sainovic is quite familiar with, although it was just last week that he left Radoje Kontic the sad satisfaction of writing a letter to the Russians (and certainly the UN Sanctions Committee also read it) crying for approval of the continuation of gas deliveries to Yugoslavia.

Citing this example does not serve here to support the thesis that Mr. Sainovic is in the role of such an arbiter regarding a big state transaction, and that he should be careful not to be corrupted (because his former ministerial assistant, Mr. Nedeljkovic, is allegedly paid $3,000, i.e., five times more than him). This case—and there are others—only reminds those few people who have not yet realized that the authorities in this country are close to all sorts of "grease," and that the great concern for "national pride" in this region has, as a rule, ended with monetary scandals. That is why it is disturbing now that there is a big uproar about having the fight against crime intensified horizontally, but the "height," as we mentioned in the beginning of this story, is being mentioned less and less. It probably will not happen that Slobodan Milosevic has already achieved what he announced under the guise of the fight against crime.

## Kosovo

### Arkan Discusses Political Situation in Republic

*AU2004184693 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 93 p 5*

[Interview with Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, member of Parliament from Kosovo-Metohija, Kosmet, by Nenad Novakovic, place and date not given: "Time Has Come to Settle Accounts"]

[Text] Parliamentary deputy Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, as the leader of the independent parliamentary group from Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija], has been stirring up public opinion since the election campaign in Kosmet. As he says himself, he has not promised much, but he wants to achieve what he has promised. He has been the most active deputy in Kosmet, he has been working among the citizens of all social strata. How does he see the present situation in Kosmet and how could it be solved?

[Novakovic] To what extent are Kosovo's problems discussed in the Serbian parliament?

[Raznjatovic] We are trying to fight for the rights of the Serbian people in Kosmet. Some members are supporting us, but some are showing resistance. We do not have any support from the mighty politicians who are in power in Kosmet, and who converted their districts and towns into their own centers of power and made themselves unapproachable. There is chaos there, I have convinced myself of that in the last few days. These powerful leaders have become unbearable. The people cannot stand them any longer, and are still tolerating them only out of some patriotic considerations. The only thing they want to achieve is a position in Belgrade, where they can say that they speak on behalf of the people, but they actually work only in their own interest.

[Novakovic] What can you, as a member of parliament and "the chief" of this group, offer Albanians? What do you want to offer them?

[Raznjatovic] Those Albanians whose eyes are riveted on Belgrade and Serbia, and there are such Albanians, are welcome to live in peace with us, to work and enjoy their rights and freedoms. Their children can live normally with ours. The others, who see their future connected to Tirana, who support the unification of Kosovo with Albania, will never achieve this goal, because the Serbian people are spiritually and religiously connected to Kosmet. If we lost Kosmet, we would lose our soul. We cannot accept this.

[Novakovic] How would you assess the view that the Kosovo parliament should be constituted in the same way as the Vojvodina parliament?

[Raznjatovic] I do not see any need to constitute a Kosmet parliament. I do not know why regions should be created again. There is Serbia, and it is stupid to create leaderships in regions. I agree with the well-known thesis, which was, I think, presented by the Radical Party, that a Kovoso parliament should be constituted and only one session held—with the aim of legally dissolving it.

[Novakovic] Has the time come when accounts with certain people from Kosovo should be settled, because of the big mistakes they made in Kosovo?

[Raznjatovic] It is necessary to stop the activities of these people as soon as possible. The separatism and divisions have to be abolished, and the instigators have to lay down their weapons. It is insane that some wise Albanians should support coexistence with "the old established Serbs" but not with Serbia. It would be very dangerous if Serbs begin to think like that. Some Serbs already are insisting on this.

[Novakovic] There have been no "ministerial scandals" in Kosovo so far.

[Raznjatovic] Kosovo is a region, but there are going to be scandals here too. I do not want to mention any names now, but there are enough influential people and powerful politicians who are engaged in various activities, beginning from small-scale smuggling to enemy propaganda.

[Novakovic] What can you tell us about the improvement of the national structure? You talked a lot about it during the campaign.

[Raznjatovic] It is not enough to bring the people to a wasteland. You have to offer them jobs, apartments and many other things. There are many people who would like to move to Kosmet, especially refugees from Slovenia, Croatia, the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but this has to be carefully planned. We cannot make welfare cases out of these people, they have to be given something. In talking with the people, I heard that the worst problem is housing. Some powerful politicians gave the apartments set aside for returnees to their lovers or relatives, and honest people were left in the lurch.

[Novakovic] More than 200 facilities in Kosovo have not been completed. Can they be used for some purposes?

[Raznjatovic] These and all other facilities must be used. Our military industry was situated in Bosnia, it has to be moved. We could put part of it in Kosmet. Military experts could come, together with their families, and settlement would begin naturally without any plans on paper. The problem is, however, that Serbs feel insecure in Kosmet. First of all, they have to be given peace and safety again. That is why I am supporting a professional Serbian army, because only such an army can protect the Serbian people in Kosmet.

[Novakovic] Is there any chance that your idea about a professional army will be accepted by the Serbian parliament?

[Raznjatovic] I have already mentioned this in parliament, and I came into conflict immediately with Marko Negovanovic, the Serbian defense minister. I hope that everyone will understand soon that only a Serbian army, and not some Yugoslav Army, can defend the Serbs from all their enemies.

[Novakovic] How would you assess the present situation in Kosovo, several months after the election?

[Raznjatovic] The people are not happy with the election results—that has to be said openly—because nothing has changed and people wanted changes. The ruling party should have dismissed the leading politicians. The present leadership, which has been in power for several years, disassociated themselves completely from the people. Most parliament members from Kosmet live in Belgrade and come to Kosmet only on short visits to their "parishes."

[Novakovic] You obviously have objections to the ruling party!

[Raznjatovic] I have no objections to the party, but to some of its members who are ruining its reputation.

[Novakovic] What is the solution to these problems?

[Raznjatovic] I think that radical changes are necessary. As far as my parliamentary group is concerned, we shall do what we promised and try to achieve even more. The times are unfavorable for any kind of work, and in Kosovo one should work day and night. People who are not ready to work hard should keep their hands off.

**[Box, p 5]**

### Their Serbian Birth Certificates Are of No Avail

[Novakovic] The idea about the division of Kosmet into two spheres of interest—Albanian and Serbian—can be heard more and more in the influential circles in Serbia.

[Raznatovic] This can be done only by people who are not real Serbs, their Serbian birth certificates are of no avail.

### "Serbian Beasts"

[Novakovic] It has also been very popular lately to divide non-Albanians in Kosmet into the so-called "old established" and "newcomers."

[Raznatovic] There are Serbian beasts. Only these people can make divisions among Serbian people. I do not recognize any newcomers, old established, Serbs, Montenegrins, partisans, or chetniks. There are only people and monsters. It is stupid to divide a people. Those people who are doing that are acting directly against the Serbian people.

## Army Reportedly 'Regrouping' in Republic

*LD2104001993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] The Kosovo Information Center has announced that the Serb Army—reinforced by reserve units—engaged in mass regrouping in Kosovo today. The same source said that the highest concentration of the Army was noticed in the vicinity of Gazi Mestan, adding that Serb forces have been moving toward the Albanian border over the past few days. The Information Center said that all these movements of the Serbian Army are being carried out simultaneously with low overflights by Serb aircraft.

# Vojvodina

## Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Sanctions, Autonomy

*AU2104103993 Budapest MTI in English 0850 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Text] Budapest, 20 April (MTI)—"Sanctions are double-edged weapons," the deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK], Janos Vekas, warned in an interview carried in Tuesday's [20 April] national daily NEPSZABADSAG.

"There can be no peace in the Balkans, either under the Vance-Owen or any other scheme, as long as there are such huge weapon stocks there. Agreements reached under such circumstances cannot bring lasting solutions," Vekas said.

"On the other hand, the sanctions could lead to Serbian society shutting itself off more, and to the strengthening of its militaristic and totalitarian features, and even a drift towards fascism.

"As regards Hungarians in Vojvodina, it is particularly important that the above, and impoverishment in general, do not intensify the tolerance and democratization of Serbian society. Furthermore, Hungarians are now no longer leaving Vojvodina merely because of the threat to them, but also because they simply cannot ensure their livelihood there. The sense of being threatened has declined in the past two months, however, migration has increased."

Vekas also said territorial autonomy now figured more prominently in proposals. "Earlier we thought that autonomy on a personal level was better than territorial autonomy, as it affects all Hungarians living here. Now, however, in view of the territory's ethnic proportions, territorial autonomy should also be encouraged," he said.

"Serbian settlement in areas planned under Hungarian territorial autonomy has declined since we began calling for this. The possibility of territorial autonomy increases the sense of security of Hungarians psychologically, too, and this could prevent the start of large-scale migration to Hungary.

"It seems the Serbian powers are now more ready to discuss territorial autonomy, although we do not know whether this is a genuine intention, or merely a gesture towards the West," Vekas said.